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PLATO'S LAWS AND THE UNITY OF PLATO'S THOUGHT. I

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In spite of Lucian's sneer, "colder than Plato's *Laws*," the masterpiece of Plato's old age was more closely studied and intelligently appreciated in antiquity than it is today. It has happened to eminent modern scholars to deal with verbatim quotations or obvious reminiscences of the *Laws* with no recognition of their source. It has been a commonplace of criticism to contrast its prosy preachers and tediously minute prescriptions with the fresh, dramatic charm of the minor dialogues and the large poetic idealism of the *Republic*. Critics who have lost their way between the comprehensive design and the labyrinthine detail have pressed a few confused or corrupt passages,¹ a few awkward periods, a few abrupt or strained transitions² into the service of the thesis that it is an incoherent aggregation of fragments put together by some Philip of Opus out of Plato's *Nachlass*. Deviations from the *Republic* required by the very design of the work, its *ὑπόθεσις*, as Isocrates,³ Plato,⁴ and Aristotle⁵ would put it, are exploited as evidences of a fundamental revolution in Plato's social and political opinions. The custom, in

¹ E.g., 934C.

² Chiefly in Book xi and in Book xii as far as 958C. Plato himself apologizes, 922B: *ταῦτα δὲ δῆ μετὰ τὰ νῦν εἰρημένα ἀμῶς γέ πως τάξασθα.*

³ *Panegyr.* *passim*.

⁴ Rep. 550C; *Laws* 743C, 812A, etc.

⁵ *Politics* *passim*; cf. 1269a 32.

systematic expositions of the Platonic philosophy, of relegating the *Laws* to an appendix, as it were, and the neglect of countless definite coincidences of thought and formula with the more dramatic dialogues have confirmed the impression that the fullest and most explicit enunciation of Plato's teaching is of interest only to professional philologists. Its noble and stately, if sometimes monotonous, *þñtropéia* has been confounded with the flat, unraised style of the epistles or the solemn and cumbrous preciousity of the *Epinomis* for the maintenance of the genuineness of those plausible imitations. A few petulant Carlylean declamations, a few wilful Ruskinian boutades,¹ have completely blinded liberals of the school of Grote and Gomperz to the true historical significance of this unique combination of an Aristotelian wealth of good sense, political wisdom, and discriminating observation with a divinatory insight and a depth of Hellenic feeling that forever elude the dialectical net and the would-be exhaustive categories of the semi-alien encyclopedist. The repetitions,² the apologies for digressions,³ the allusions to the weakness of old age,⁴ the self-checks,⁵ and the self-praise⁶ have provoked comparisons with the senile maunderings and self-complacency of Isocrates' latest work.

Deprecation of this injustice does not commit us to the paradox that the *Laws* portrays persons with the dramatic poignancy of the *Protagoras* and *Gorgias*, or embodies abstractions with the high imaginative vision of the *Republic*. There are tedious tracts. There is something of the didacticism, the repetitiousness, the self-complacency and at the same time the hopelessness, if not the moroseness, of old age. The years have altered not only the emphasis of Plato's moods but perhaps some of his minor opinions. The style, with some gains, has lost flexibility, simplicity, and colloquial charm. Little tricks of manner have passed into mannerisms.⁷

It is a question of degree, of the weight to be attributed to these things in the interpretation of Plato's philosophy and the history

¹ 704, 742C, 769B, 908-9, 929D, 937-38, 952D, 829D.

² 659D, 688B, 699C, 733=662-63, 740E, 743E, 754C, 770C, 774C, 812A, 822E, 876D, 887B.

³ 642A, 682E, 701D, 864C.

⁵ 701C, 722D, 803BC, 857B.

⁴ 752A, 770A, 846C, 855D, 957A.

⁶ 683C, 699D, 811CD.

⁷ τάχ' ἀν λόγοις; ή καλ; ἀμώς γέ τως; τινὰ τρόπον αὐ; ή πῶς; τό γε τοσοῦτον.

of his personal development. I think that recent criticism has overemphasized them, and I shall endeavor to show in this study: (1) that the *Laws* is in Plato's conception essentially finished, and is on the whole as well composed as is any equally long and fact-laden treatise in ancient—or in modern—literature; (2) that the slight and easily explicable divergencies from the thought of the *Republic* are completely outweighed by all-pervading correspondences in principle and in detail; (3) that allusions to methods and ideas of the dialectical dialogues, and explicit solutions of problems dramatically presented in the minor dialogues, make the work almost a complete compendium of the Platonic philosophy; (4) that the precision, the stately rhythm, the religious unction of the style deserve to be studied for themselves and not merely as foils to the more obvious charms of the earlier dialogues.

I cannot, of course, hope to present many facts that have not been singly observed by others. But the collections, though making no claim to exhaustiveness, may be of some interest even to those who do not accept my main theses.

The existence of the *Republic* prescribed for an artist of Plato's versatility a different design for any subsequent treatise on politics and sociology. He was no Isocrates to spend forty years redeveloping the topics and diluting the ideas of the prize composition that "had beggared him." Fundamental truth must, of course, be repeated. But many things he had said once for all, and could thenceforth take for granted by implication and allusion. The formal demonstration of the thesis of the *Gorgias* that virtue and happiness coincide, the censure of Homeric theology,¹ the definition of the virtues in partial resolution of the *áποια* of the minor dialogues, the psychology and pedagogy of the scientific studies of the Academy as a propaedeutic to dialectics, the embodiment in a series of poetical allegories of the regulative concept of the idea of good—these topics, occupying more than half of the *Republic*, are, as we shall see, presupposed and, when required by the argument, repeated in the *Laws*. But an explicit rediscussion of them was not called for except on the assumption that Plato had changed his opinions,

¹ *Laws* 886C briefly dismisses this topic. But cf. 636D and 941B with *Rep.* 378B.

which is begging the very question at issue. Nor can we expect him to rewrite such a masterpiece of art as the evolution of democracy and tyranny out of the ideal state in the eighth book,¹ or to recast the eschatological myth that crowns the whole. In the *Gorgias* and the *Phaedo* Plato had already preluded to this incomparable Vision of Judgment. And after the Story of Er anything that even he could have composed on this theme as a conclusion to the *Laws* would have been an anti-climax. He therefore incorporates the "sanction" of the idea of immortality in his main argument by a few explicit references,² fills the space which its fuller exposition would have occupied with the theodicy of the tenth book, and concludes his latest work, not on a high poetic and religious climax, but with an almost pathetically patient and lucid summary of the simple principles of his lifelong teaching and his political philosophy.

The *Republic* was the definitive poetic embodiment of the parallel and antithesis between the ethical and political ideal which is an object of seemingly vain quest in the minor dialogues and that of the Athenian democracy and the sophists and demagogues who exploited it for their own ends. To this exhausted theme Plato could not well return for many years, and then only on a more prosaic and matter-of-fact level. The *Politicus* is in the main a study of method—a contribution both to general logic³ and the special logic of politics.⁴ Taking up the old postulate of a royal or political art⁵ and the old parallel or antithesis between the true art or science and the arts of flattery of the demagogue, the rhetorician, and the sophist,⁶ it defines the statesman by successive eliminations of all rivals and pretenders to his function.⁷ A myth presents and regrettfully dis-

¹ Macaulay, who had little appreciation of Plato's higher flights, says: "I remember nothing in Greek philosophy superior to this in profundity, ingenuity, and eloquence."

² 727D, 870D, 828D, 881A, 927A, 959B.

³ 286D: τολὺ δὲ μάλιστα καὶ πρῶτον τὴν μέθοδον αὐτὴν τιμᾶν; cf. 262D, 265A, 266D, 278E, 285A, 285D: τοῦ περὶ πάρτα διαλεκτικῶν γίγνεσθαι; cf. *Laws* 638E.

⁴ 274E and 275C with *Rep.* 426D.

⁵ *Euthydem.* 291BC; *Charm.* 170B; *Protag.* 319A; *Gorg.* 501AB, 503D; *Rep.* 428D; *Polit.* 289C, 293D, 309C.

⁶ *Gorg.* 464-65 and *passim*.

⁷ This motive appears "already" in *Euthydem.* 289-90. Cf. also *Phaedr.* 266C: βασιλικοὶ μὲν ἄνδρες, etc.

misses the impracticable ideal of an all-wise autocrat, the divine shepherd of a simple¹ human flock. The method of definition by elimination is illustrated in a sequence of images drawn from weaving and mining. And the continued analogy of the art of weaving suggests the representation of the true statesman's function in the Aristophanic² image, that it is his task to combine the purified warp and woof of social tissue in the robe of perfect citizenship.³ Here, as in the *Republic* and the *Laws*,⁴ the chief means to this end is the control of education.⁵ But in the elaboration of the image Plato is led to emphasize another thought, repeated in the *Laws*⁶ but, as it happens, not explicitly mentioned in the *Republic*,⁷ the eugenic problem of breeding the desirable mean by the mating of opposite extremes.⁸

Apart from this, alleged differences from the *Republic* are mostly misapprehensions. The classification of the six (or seven) forms of government⁹ is, like all classifications and definitions in Plato, relevant to the special purpose and context.¹⁰ When this is recognized the apparent inconsistency with the quadripartite classification of the *Republic* and the bipartite division of the *Laws*¹¹ disappears. Aristotle, as often, follows Plato while pretending to differ from him.¹²

¹ 275A, 275C, 276E; cf. *Laws* 678A = *Polit.* 272A, 678B; *Rep.* 372E.

² *Lysistrata* 586: τῷ Δῆμῳ χλαῖναι ὑφῆται.

³ Cf. also *Laws* 734E.

⁴ *Rep.* 416B, 423E: έδεν . . . θν μέγα φυλάττωσι . . . τὴν παιδείαν. *Laws* 641B = 644A; 765E = 788D = *Rep.* 377A; 752C = *Rep.* 541A; 788; 804D; 832D: ἡ τοιάντη κατάστασις πολιτείας μόνη δέξαιτ' ἀν τῶν νῦν τὴν διαπερανθείσαν παιδείαν.

⁵ It is not, as sometimes affirmed, the reconciliation of the two temperaments by the marriage of unlikes. Plato distinctly assigns the second and inferior place to this measure: 309C, 310A: τὸν μὲν λοιπόν, δύτας ἀνθρωπίνους δεσμούς, ὑπάρχοντος τούτου τοῦ θελού σχεδὸν οὐδὲν χαλεπὸν οὐτε ἐνοοεῖσθαι οὐτε ἐνοήσαστα ἀποτελεῖν.

⁶ 773B.

⁷ It may be vaguely covered by 458E: εἰεν δ' ἀν τεροι [sc. γάμοι] οἱ ὠφελιμώτατοι = τὸν γάρ τῇ πόλει δεῖ συμφέροντα μνηστεύειν γάμον (*Laws* 773B).

⁸ The *Republic* merely breeds from the best; but those have already been selected and educated to harmonize the two temperaments.

⁹ 301–2.

¹⁰ Cf. *Unity of Plato's Thought*, 13, 16, n. 86, and "Note on the *Menexenus* 238D," *Class. Phil.*, V, 361.

¹¹ 693D.

¹² *Pol.* 1289b 5: οἵδη μὲν οὖν τις ἀπεφήνατο καὶ τῶν πρότερον οὔτως οὐ μῆν εἰς ταῦτα βλέψυς ήμεν.

Isocrates also took a hand in the game, and his treatment of the topic reinforces the lesson of the *Menexenus* passage, that it is uncritical to press these purely literary variations on the commonplace Greek distinction of the good or bad government of the one, the few, or the many, and the conventional or etymological significance of such words as *ἀριστοκρατία* and *δλιγαρχία*.¹ The rejection in *Politicus* 262D of the antithesis, Greek-Barbarian, is sometimes taken as a contradiction of the distinction in *Republic* 469-71 between war with Greeks and war with Barbarians. But it is no more a recantation of this normal Greek feeling than 263D is an abandonment of the distinction between men and cranes. The significance of both passages in the *Politicus* is logical, with a touch of transcendental irony toward all human pretensions. But the natural Pan-Hellenic patriotism of the *Republic* and the *Menexenus*² reappears unchanged in the *Laws*.³ We shall discuss below⁴ the emphasis laid in the *Politicus* and *Laws* on one other idea not quite explicitly set forth in the *Republic*. But the entire method is uncritical, and by parity of reasoning we might infer that at the date of the *Politicus* Plato had abandoned the communistic ideal which he reaffirms in the *Laws*⁵ and, since he does not mention it, no longer hates the plutocracy which he so eloquently denounces in both *Laws* and *Republic*.⁶

The *Laws*, though in form a workable project of legislation for a conceivable Greek city, remains, after all, in some sort a Utopian romance, as Mr. Wells, perhaps rightly, believes every constructive sociological treatise must be. It is a myth,⁷ a fairy tale, a game to beguile an old man's leisure.⁸ Plato is entirely conscious of this,⁹

¹ Cf. my review of Taylor's *Varia Socratica*, *Class. Phil.*, VI, 361, and the subsequent discussion of the subject, *ibid.*, VII, 85 ff.

² 239-41.

⁴ Pp. 357 ff.

³ 698B-99D.

⁵ 739C, 807B.

⁶ 705, 742, 831, 870, etc.; *Rep.* 373E, 421DE, 434B, 550E, 591D; note *ἄπειρον* 373E, 591D. *Laws* 705, 742, 831, 870, etc.; *Ar. Pol.* i. 3. p. 1256b 32 and the non-enforcement of money contracts, *Rep.* 556A = *Laws* 742C, 849E, 915E; also *πλοῦτος* οὐ *τυφλός* 631C = *Rep.* 554B; prohibition of gold and silver, 742A = *Rep.* 416E.

⁷ 632E, 752A, 841C; *Rep.* 376D, 501E.

⁸ 685A; cf. *Phaedr.* 276E; 712B, 769A.

⁹ 746B: *μηδ' αὐτὸν δοκεῖτε με λεληθέντα.*

and while reaffirming the ideals of the *Republic* as ideals¹ protests, for most of his modern readers in vain, against the misconception that he anticipates any precise or pedantic realization even of his second-best² state.³ He repeats with appropriate qualifications all that he had said in the *Republic* of the value of even unattainable ideals as patterns,⁴ regulative concepts, and expressions of the controlling unity of moral purpose that distinguishes the statesman from the opportunist and the charlatan.⁵ He cannot forego the vision of a reformed society, a city of God in the heavens⁶ or somewhere on earth in the infinite past or future,⁷ though he is as well aware as his critics that it is, perhaps, what it must needs appear to the practical man, an aspiration, a castle in the air, a day dream,⁸ a creation which, when his dialectic and the *saeva indignatio* of his moral eloquence have shattered to bits the politician's world of Callicles and Thrasymachus, he can mold as in wax⁹ nearer to his heart's desire, only because the word is, in the proverb's despite,¹⁰ nearer and more plastic to the ideal truth of the conception than the deed can ever be.¹¹ He anticipates all that modern objectors have to say on the complication of the causes that determine the actual operation of the best-intentioned enactments.¹² Man is the most unruly of animals, the most difficult to educate and subdue to discipline.¹³ Plato clearly foresees the recalcitrance of average and historically determined human nature¹⁴ to the arbitrary prescriptions

¹ 739, 807.

² 739B, 807B, 807E; cf. *Polit.* 297E: ὡς δεύτερος, 300C: δεύτερος πλοῦς.

³ 781D: εἰ δὴ δοκεῖ λόγου γ' ἔνεκα μὴ ἀτυχῆ τὸν περὶ πάσος τῆς πολιτείας γενέσθαι λόγον. 739DE shows that the number 5,040 is not to be taken superstitiously, nor very seriously, except as an embodiment of the idea incorporated in modern metric systems. Cf. 746DE.

⁴ *Rep.* 472C, 592B; *Laws* 739E, 746B.

⁵ 625E, 630C, 688B, 693B, 706A, 717A, 733CD, 962A; *Rep.* 484C, 500DE, 520C; *Gorg.* 503E, 501C, 517, 518.

⁶ *Rep.* 592AB.

⁷ *Rep.* 499C; *Laws* 739C: εἰτ' ἔσται ποτέ; 711E.

⁸ *Rep.* 458A, εὐχή; 450D, 456C, 499C.

⁹ 746A: σχεδὸν οἷον ὄντες πάτα λέγων, η̄ πλάττων καθάπερ ἐκ κηροῦ τίνα πόλιν καὶ πολίτας; *Rep.* 588D: ἐπειδὴ εὐπλαστότερον κήρου . . . λόγος.

¹⁰ *Rep.* 473A: καν̄ εἰ μὴ τῷ δοκεῖ.

¹² 636A; *Polit.* 294B.

¹¹ 636A, 736B, 778B.

¹³ 766A, 808D; *Polit.* 292D.

¹⁴ 684DE, 752B, 779E, 781B, 788A-90A, 839B, 922D, 925D: ἀ μυρία ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἐμπόδια γλυγεται τοῖς τοιούτοις ἐπιτάγμασιν τοῦ μῆτινα ἔθετοις; 926C.

of a self-appointed dictator who seeks to overrule the chance or Providence,¹ the necessity or Lucretian *caeca potestas*² that actually governs the life of man, makes sport of the calculations of human wisdom, and with unforeseen accident doth

Divert and crack, rend and deracinate
The Unity and married calm of states
Quite from their fixture!

He renews his challenge to hasty censors to allow the artist to work out his hypothesis as a consistent whole and judge him by the finished result.³ He admits with high-sorrowful skepticism that the coherency and moral purposiveness of his design is all that in the last resort he can affirm⁴—except perhaps his unshaken faith in the moral government of the world,⁵ and his conviction that in the right education, whatever it be, lies the only hope of betterment.⁶ For adamantine⁷ as is his reasoned assurance, he yet is aware that the highest good is the affirmation of a personal vision which those who will may contradict, since, as Pindar says: *τοῦτο δ' ἀμάχανον εὑρεῖν | δ τι νῦν ἐν καὶ τελευτᾷ φέρεταν ἀνδρὶ τυχεῖν.* He would admit with Jean Paul that we may deliberate about the parts of life but not about the whole. “Oh Crito, those who are fixed in this faith can hold no conference with those who reject it, but they must of necessity despise one another’s counsels.”⁸ “Decide then forthwith,” says the Socrates of the *Republic*, “to which party you address your words, or shall it be to neither, but will you follow out for your own sake your own thought, not grudging another who may haply profit thereby?”⁹

It is customary to attribute the less buoyant tone of the *Laws*

¹ 686B, 709B.

² 741A, 709AB.

³ 746CD, 799E, 805B, 812A, 820E, 768D, 842A.

⁴ 641D, 812A; cf. *Rep.* 416B, 450E–51A, 506C, 533A, 517B: *θεὸς δὲ που οἰδεν,* εἰ δηθῆς οὖσα *τυγχάνει*—*Laws* 641D; cf. *Tim.* 72D.

⁵ *Laws* 662B, 903–4.

⁶ *Rep.* 416BC: *τὴς δρθῆς τυχεῖν παιδεῖας, ήτις ποτέ έστιν;* *Laws* 788C: *τὴν γε δρθῆν.*

⁷ *Gorg.* 509A; *Rep.* 360B; 618A.

⁸ *Crito* 49D.

⁹ *Rep.* 527E.

and its compromises of the good with the necessary¹ to the disappointments of Plato's Sicilian experiences and the failure of his idealistic faith and hope. The suggestion can do no harm provided the texts are not distorted in its support. But it remains for sober criticism a superfluous hypothesis. The inevitable decay of the imagination in old age, and the literary motives already glanced at, the ἀνάγκη λογογραφική, amply account for all significant differences between the *Republic* and the *Laws*. The ideal principles of social reform having been once adequately expounded, it remained to portray their plausible application to a conceivable Greek city. Such a hypothesis necessitated an immense mass of superadded detail,² and a more matter-of-fact treatment. Old age doubtless diminished Plato's elasticity of feeling, and his mood may have been permanently saddened by the death of Dion. But all the notable pessimistic utterances of the *Laws* can be closely matched from the *Republic*.³ It is the height of naïveté to suppose that Plato really expected to establish the kingdom of philosophy in Sicily. The most rudimentary literary art would forbid the explicit admission within the *Republic* that the heavenly city was a mere Nephelococcygia. But the argument that his ideal is not wholly chimerical⁴ is so hedged about with qualifications and reserves⁵ that the intelligent reader has little difficulty in apprehending, as Kant apprehended it, the true meaning of the final sentence:⁶ "It makes no difference whether it anywhere now exists or ever is to be. The philosopher will concern himself with the politics of this city and no other." Here, as often, the unscholarly divination of Emerson comes plump upon the truth: "He did not, like Pythagoras, break himself with an institution. All his painting in the *Republic* must be esteemed

¹ 739, 740A, 853C, 875CD, 948CD; cf. 628D, 758E, 858A; *Rep.* 347C, 358A, 493C, 520E, 527A.

² See the list of omissions in *Rep.* 425CD, 412B. The polity of the *Laws*, too, as we shall see, dispenses with much that ordinary states require. Cf. 842CD.

³ 379C, 496DE, 516D, 486A, 500BC, 604B: οὐτε τι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων δξιον δν μεγάλης σπουδῆς = *Laws* 803B; cf. *Laws* 644D and 803C.

⁴ 499C: δλλως εὐχαῖς δμοια; cf. 540D; cf. *Laws* 839D: ὡς δ' οὐν οὐκ ἔστιν ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων.

⁵ 450C ff., 457D, 458AB, 466D, 472A, 520A-C.

⁶ 592B.

mythical, with intent to bring out, sometimes in violent colors, his thought. You cannot institute, without peril of charlatanism."¹

But though Plato's sober judgment was subject to no illusions, the exigencies of his literary design and the impatience inseparable from the world-bettering temper led him in both the *Republic* and the *Laws* to the affirmation of two dangerous Utopian principles, the abuse of which by the disciples of Rousseau and Carlyle has reflected some discredit on the author. The historical spirit rejects his assumption of the unlimited plasticity of actual and secularly evolved human nature. And modern liberals condemn his invocation of the benevolent autocrat as the *deus ex machina* of reform. Our present concern is not to apologize for either of these ideas, but to point out the relative justification of Plato's literary use of them, and to show that the *Republic* and the *Laws* do not appreciably differ in their statement.

The Greek *πόλις* was in fact far more plastic to a dominating personality than the huge modern *εθνος* ever can be. Isocrates, like Plato, dwells with complacency on the power of the mere example of the Prince to transform the fashion of life and conduct in the citizens.² And with the mythical or real cases of Lycurgus and Solon³ in mind, Plato found abundant confirmation for the postulates that the "Lawgiver" can mold human nature to his pattern,⁴ that the second generation if not the first can be made to accept any teaching that it is desirable for them to believe,⁵ and that a unanimous public opinion created by education⁶ and preserved by laws that forbid its contradiction⁷ can subdue instinct⁸ and hold in check the desire for innovation.⁹

¹ *Plato: New Readings.*

² Isoc. *Or.* ii. 31; iii. 37; vii. 22; Plato *Laws* 711B.

³ *Polit.* 295BC obviously alludes to Solon.

⁴ Rep. 501A, 500D: *καὶ ἐκεῖ ὅρῃ . . . εἰς ἀνθρώπων ήθη τιθέναι . . . δημοσιργὸν τῆς δημοτικῆς δρετῆς;* cf. 377C.

⁵ Rep. 541A, 415CD; *Laws* 752C, 663E: *Σιδωνίου μυθολόγημα . . . παράδειγμα τοῦ πείσειν διὰ ἐπιχειρῆ τις πείσειν τὰς τῶν νέων ψυχάς = Rep. 414C.* In 781-83 there is a hint of the argument which modern reformers draw from evolution and the changes which it has wrought in human nature. Cf. 676C.

⁶ 665C, 643D, 653A-C; Rep. 367A, 378D, 463D, 464A.

⁷ 838CD, 798B, 660E; cf. Rep. 392A.

⁸ 838B: *συμκρόν δῆμα κατασβέννυσι πάσας τὰς τοιαύτας ηδονάς.*

⁹ 657B, 797CD.

From this it is but a step to the doctrine of the all-wise autocrat that has given so great offense to liberal critics who make no allowance for its function in the literary economy of Plato's romances,¹ and who fail to distinguish the different forms which it assumes, and the qualifications by which it is limited. In the form of the famous dictum that either philosophers must become kings or kings philosophers,² it is merely the demand that the state be governed by the highest available intelligence,³ which is of necessity the possession of a few, however democratically selected and trained.⁴ This, though Plato is not always careful to mark the distinction, should not be confused with the invocation of a converted autocrat to bring about the revolution and inaugurate reform. That thought, too, appears in *Republic* 502B: *εἰς ικανὸς γενόμενος πόλιν ἔχων πειθομένην*.⁵ It assumes the form of wilful paradox in *Laws* 709E: *τυραννούμενην μοι δότε τὴν πόλιν*. This outrages the liberal sentiments of Grote and Mill as much as it surprises the natural Greek feeling of the interlocutors Megillus and Cleinias.⁶ They overlook the fact that the virtuous youthful tyrant is simply an ideal postulate of method, an *εὐχή*⁷ with which Plato pleases his imagination even while recognizing its impracticability as a continuing form of government so long as human nature remains what it is.⁸ All apparent inconsistencies are due to the fact that Plato cannot forbear to oppose to the liberal politician's conception of government by plausible palaver, under the forms of law,⁹ the old Socratic ideal of government as an art and science, the autocratic discretion of the

¹ Cf. the Demiourgos of the *Timaeus* and the Lawgiver of language in the *Cratylus*.

² *Rep.* 473C. But in 540D the idea of the revolution that establishes the reformed state is more prominent. With *Ἐρως ἐμπέγυ*, 499C, cf. *Laws* 711D.

³ 714A: *τὴν τοῦ νοῦ διανομὴν ἐπονομάζοντας νόμον*; cf. 645B, 890D, 957C; *Polit.* 297B.

⁴ *Rep.* 428E, 491B, 494A, 503B; *Laws* 818A; *Polit.* 292E, 297BC, 300E.

⁵ By implication also in *τίνος δν σμικροτάτου μεταβαλόντος*, 473B.

⁶ 711A; cf. *Polit.* 293E. ⁷ 709D.

⁸ 691C, 692B, 713C, 854A, 875B, 947E; *Polit.* 274E, 301C, 301D. The *Republic* differs, if at all, only in the assertion, required by the *ὑπόθεσις* that no one can affirm *ώς δὲ ἐν παντὶ τῷ χρόνῳ . . . οὐδὲ* *ἄντες σωθεῖν*, 502A. The objection of *Polit.* 301D that the human swarm does not breed the "king" bee is anticipated in *Rep.* 520C.

⁹ *Gorg.* *passim*; *Phaedr.* 260CD = *Rep.* 493B; *Polit.* 298BC, 300A.

true shepherd, pilot, or physician.¹ But though he everywhere reaffirms the Carlylean proposition, that it is better for the unwise, whether they consent or not, to be ruled by the wise,² in practice he estimates governments not only by their wisdom and disinterestedness, but by the rejected criteria of subordination to law and the consent of the governed.³ *Laws* 627E, 690C: *καίτοι τοῦτό γε, ὁ Πίνδαρε σοφώτατε, σχεδὸν οὐκ ἀν παρὰ φύσιν ἔγωγε φαίνη γίγνεσθαι κατὰ φύσιν δὲ τὴν τοῦ νόμου ἐκόντων ἀρχήν ἀλλ’ οὐ βίαιον πεφυκύναν.*⁴ For though the conjunction of supreme power with the highest wisdom is, if we could have our wish, the nearest way to the goal, and though the possibility of one such virtuous tyrant in the infinite past or future redeems the ideal city from mere visionariness,⁵ human nature, as we know it, is always corrupted by arbitrary power.⁶ Wistfully as we contemplate so potent an instrument for good we must renounce it.⁷ To include it in our political definitions and estimates is to confound the age of Cronos with the age of Zeus,⁸ the divine ruler with the human, the king with the tyrant.⁹ The best human government is that which "imitates"¹⁰ the divine king, substituting the rigid approximations of Law for his flexible scientific discretion, and replacing his disinterested care for his charges by the spirit of devotion to laws devised for the common weal.¹¹

¹ *Laws* 684C; *Polit.* 296B, 293D.

² *Rep.* 590D; *Polit.* 296B; *Laws* 684C.

³ Cf. *Polit.* 300 ff. The citizens even of the *Republic* are not slaves, but free men, whose rulers are their helpers and guardians. Cf. 417AB, 547C.

⁴ I have omitted Burnet's comma after δέ. It obscures the meaning, which many interpreters have missed, and which is made clear by the similar turn in *Gorg.* 484E: *κατὰ φύσιν τὴν τοῦ δικαίου*, where there is no comma. This is almost a mannerism in the *Laws*; cf. 853A, 857D, 923B.

⁵ *Rep.* 502B.

Polit. 300C ff.

⁶ *Supra*, p. 355, n. 8.

⁸ *Ibid.* 274E; *Laws* 713E.

⁹ *Polit.* 276E; *Rep.* 576D, 587B.

¹⁰ This wilful generalization of the word is characteristic of Plato. The meaning is perfectly clear from *Polit.* 293C, 297C, 300C, 301A; *Laws* 713B and 713E: *μιμεῖσθαι . . . τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ Κρόνου λεγόμενον βίον . . . τὴν τοῦ νοῦ διανομὴν ἐπορομάζοντας νόμον*. For the implications of this last phrase, cf. *supra*, p. 355, n. 3.

¹¹ The political art like other arts does not as such seek the "good" of the artist: *Rep.* 341-42; implied in *Laws* 875A: *ὅτι πολιτειῶ καὶ δληθεῖ τέχνην οὐ τὸ ίδιον ἀλλὰ τὸ κοινὸν ἀνάγκη μέλειν; with δληθεῖ τέχνη cf. *Polit.* 295E; cf. also *Gorg.* 463E, 464C with *Laws* 650B.*

Plato does not propose a tyranny or an unlimited monarchy, but a mixed government for the polity of his Cretan city,¹ and even the founder himself is conceived as a *νομοθέτης ἀνευ τυραννίδος*.² The rulers of his *Republic*, however absolute their final authority over the masses, are themselves bound by severe self-denying ordinances and have won their place by a long novitiate of unswerving obedience to law.³ Thus every apparent assertion of the principle of autocracy, whether as an instrument of reform or by way of satire on Athenian democracy,⁴ is qualified and canceled by the passionate intensity of the counter-affirmation that in the actual world salvation is to be found only in the reign of law.⁵ The instinctive judgment of knowledge applied to the particular case may be in theory preferable to the generalized rigidity of written prescription.⁶ But the law is now the inherited tradition of old experience and reflection,⁷ and in a reformed state will be the highest expression of trained intelligence. The only alternative to the reign of law is the reign of faction and partisan greed.

Professor Eduard Meyer also seems to overlook this other side of Plato's shield when he complains⁸ of "die ungeheure Einseitigkeit welche den Staat ausschliesslich auf die Erkenntniss basirt." Plato, it is true, everywhere assumes that statesmanship ought to be more nearly a science than it is, and to this end he proposes to train the best minds of the community for the work of government and the education, in turn, of their successors.⁹ But in a broad view even the *Republic* may be as truly said to be based on virtue, right opinion, and the disciplined habit of obedience to law as on theoretic knowledge.¹⁰ And in the *Laws*, again wilfully straining language, he goes so far as to pronounce these qualities the highest kind of knowledge.¹¹

¹ 712C ff.

² 429, 503, 537, 540A, 412DE.

³ 735D.

⁴ *Polit.* 299.

⁵ *Ibid.* 300A; *Laws* 689B, 691A, 701B = *Rep.* 563D, 714A, 715CD, 729D, 875D, 890A.

⁶ 875C; *Polit.* 295DE, 298CD.

⁷ *Polit.* 300B; cf. *Laws* 844A, 913C, 957A.

⁸ *Gesch. d. Alt.*, V, 376.

⁹ *Rep.* 540B; *Polit.* 309; *Laws* 632C, 769C, 960 ff. This the politicians of today cannot do. Cf. *Meno* 100A.

¹⁰ Plato in fact himself says so, 433CD.

¹¹ 689CD, 691, 696C, 644A; cf. *Menex.* 246E.

The special stress laid upon the idea of law in the *Politicus* and *Laws* may be in part due to the growing conservatism of old age,¹ and the experience of the Greek world between 380 and 350. In the *Republic* Plato does not thus formally discuss the defects and yet the indispensable necessity of generalized law. But there is no reason to suppose that he would at that time have rejected any of the propositions which he happens to emphasize in the later work. Fundamental to both is the antithesis between the true idea of justice² and Thrasymachus' interpretation of the formula, the advantage of the superior.³ The paradoxical communism of the *Republic* is mainly designed to impose disinterestedness on the guardians,⁴ and thus in a measure anticipates the objection of the *Laws* and *Politicus* that human nature cannot endure unlimited power. Aristotle ignores this distinction in his censure of Plato's communism, and modern critics sometimes justify themselves in following his example by the apparently unqualified reaffirmation of the communistic ideal in the *Laws*.⁵ But the passage of the *Laws* in its context is clearly a rhetorical exaltation of that ideal unity of civic feeling which Demosthenes upbraids Aeschines for not sharing, and to which Plato frequently returns as one of the ends of statesmanship,⁶ and tests of the true state. One of the chief criteria in the election of the guardians is their lifelong obedience to law.⁷ And in the *Republic* as in the *Laws* the decline of the state whose principle is liberty begins with the spread of the spirit of lawlessness from music and education to manners, life, and politics,⁸ and the satire on the

¹ 715D: *νέος μὲν γάρ οὐ πᾶς ἀνθρώπος τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀμβλύτατα αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ ὅρῃ, γέρων δὲ δέντρα.* But the noble affirmation of the principle in *Crito* 50 ff. is "already" quite in the tone of the *Laws*.

² *Laws* 863E is practically equivalent to *Rep.* 443. With *τυραννίδα* cf. *Rep.* 573D, and with *τὴν τοῦ ἀριστοῦ δόξαν*, *Phaedo* 99A; *Phaedr.* 237DE.

³ *Rep.* 338-39; *Laws* 714C ff.; cf. *Theaetet.* 167C, 172AB. The *δῆμος ἀρχοντεῖ* of *Rep.* 488D is almost technical for this ideal of government for the maintenance of the party in power. Cf. *Laws* 714C, 962E, and also 697D, 757D. Another formula of it is the familiar "benefit friends and injure enemies."

⁴ 417, 464C, 547C.

⁵ 739C; cf. also *Rep.* 543A.

⁶ Cf. *Laws* 942C and 664A with *Rep.* 423 and 462. He never seriously contemplated a completely communistic state.

⁷ *Supra*, p. 357, n. 3.

⁸ *Rep.* 424; *Laws* 700-701.

democratic liberty that means license is the same in both.¹ The absence, then, from the *Republic* of the formal antithesis between autoocratic discretion and written law must be regarded as an accident, unless we are to make it a canon of Platonic criticism, that every idea not explicitly formulated in a given dialogue is either "not yet" apprehended or "no longer" accepted.

The *Laws*, to put the plot in a nutshell, is an elaborate project of legislation for a supposed new colony to be founded by the Cretans in a deserted part of the island, set in a large, loose framework of disquisition on the principles of education and good government, and the philosophy of Greek history, and interrupted, or rather relieved in its necessarily arid detail, by edifying moral and religious discourses and eloquent diatribes against the radicalism and license of the innovating spirit of the age. To appreciate, however, the real logical coherence, if not always artistic unity, that links its infinite detail to its rambling argument, we must first grasp firmly some of the leading ideas that dominate and inform the entire work. There are, of course, if we include restatements of the principles of the *Republic* and the *Politicus*, many such recurrent and guiding ideas: The dependence of all reform on education, and the conception of moral education as the development and inculcation of instinctive right habit and true opinion in relation to pleasure and pain,² the determination of morals by mores,³ the futility of legislation whose spirit and aim is counteracted by the unregulated habits and tastes of private life,⁴ the consequent censorship of education, music, and art,⁵ the subordination of art to ethics,⁶ and the depreciation of change,⁷ the insistence on specialization of function,⁸ and the

¹ Rep. 563; Laws 698B, 962E.

² 643E, 653AB, 659D, 654D = *Rep.* 401E, 653B = *Rep.* 402A.

³ 706C, 780A, 788B, 790B, 792E, 822E, 808C = 834D, 659C, 793B, 841B, 659E.
Unwritten Law 841B, 793A, 838B.

⁴ Rep. 426C; Laws 780A, 790B.

⁶ Rep. 377B = Laws 656C; 386B = Laws 828D; 396B = Laws 669D; 398A, 568BC = Laws 656C, 817BC; 399AB = Laws 814E, 660A, 655AB, 812C.

⁶ Plato anticipates Aristotle with $\omega\epsilon\tau\pi\alpha\delta\alpha\mu\omega\rho\alpha$ (656B), and forestalls Croce with $\delta\mu\omega\nu\delta\theta\alpha\ldots\ldots\alpha\delta\gamma\kappa\tau\tau\theta\alpha\chi\alpha\rho\alpha\tau\alpha\delta\alpha\tau\alpha\theta\alpha$ (ibid.). Cf. 669B: $\eta\theta\eta\kappa\kappa\alpha\phi\lambda\theta\alpha\theta\alpha\mu\omega\eta\alpha$; *Rep.* 395C, 607A.

⁷ 797, 799, 656, 819A; *Rep.* 380, 424C.

⁸ 846D ff.; cf. *Rep.* 370B, 374A, 394E, 395, 423D, 433A, 553E.

subjection of all life and action to austere discipline and regulation,¹ the anticipation of the Aristotelian doctrine of the mean,² and its application to the theory of a mixed government,³ the denunciation of the unlimited love of money,⁴ the distinction between the self and the things of self, between the three kinds of "goods,"⁵ between the two kinds of equality,⁶ between the good and the necessary.⁷ But for our present purpose, the better understanding of the plot, we need now consider only the three interrelated ideas, that politics is an ethical science, that the true statesman subordinates everything to a conscious unitary moral end, that the prohibitions and penalities of positive law ought to be accompanied by explanatory or hortatory preambles.

1. In what, if any, sense politics is subject to the moral law is still hotly debated, with arguments that have not changed much since Frederick the Great undertook the refutation of Machiavelli. The crucial instance is still as it was for the Callicles of the *Gorgias*,⁸ the bare-faced avowal of the right of the stronger in all international relations, and the acceptance of the victory of the bigger battalions as the survival of the fittest.⁹ All Europe still judges by the principles of Callicles the endeavors of English or American statesmen to deny or extenuate this ugly fact. On this aspect of the question Plato has little more to say. In the *Republic* he proposes to mitigate the cruelties of war between Greeks, but, like Isocrates and Aristotle, he regards the barbarian as the natural enemy.¹⁰ The root of war he finds, with St. Francis, in human greed and cupidity.¹¹ With the reluctant abandonment of the ideal of the state of nature¹² he tacitly accepts war as an unalterable condition of life, even in Utopia.¹³ In the world as it is we must be armed against injustice, he tells us,¹⁴

¹ 942D (cf. *Rep.* 563C), 762, 758, 780A, 807.

² Even in respect to health, 728D, 719, 729, 792C.

³ 712-13, 757-59.

⁴ *Rep.* 373E: *ἀπειρον* 591D; *Laws* 870A; *Ar. Pol.* 1256b 32.

⁵ 717C, 728D, 743E.

⁷ *Supra*, p. 353, n. 1.

⁶ *Rep.* 558C; *Laws* 757, 744C.

⁸ 483D.

⁹ *Laws* 638B: *νίκας δὲ καὶ ἡττας ἐκτὸς λόγου τὰ νῦν θῶμεν;* cf. 890A.

¹⁰ 470C.

¹¹ *Rep.* 373DE.

¹² *Supra*, pp. 348 ff.

¹³ *Laws* 626A: *ἢ γάρ καλούσιν οἱ πλειστοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰρήνην, τοῦτον εἶναι μόνον δρομα,* etc.

¹⁴ *Laws* 829A, 731B.

and the passages in which he warns us that we hold all other "goods" by the tenure of "virtue," in the sense of personal bravery, would please modern militarists.¹ Though the end of war is peace,² he is as positive as they can be that we can attain it only if in peace we prepare for war. And, anticipating modern Germany,³ the *Republic* and *Laws* make a virtue of this necessity, and base education⁴ and the discipline of life largely on unremitting preparation and ever-present readiness for this supreme test of manly worth.⁵ These utterances are in apparent contradiction of his previous rejection of victory as the test, of his sharp censure of the military constitution of Sparta,⁶ and the low place assigned to merely animal courage throughout the *Laws*.⁷ But it is a contradiction which, for us as for Plato, is involved in the acceptance of war. The bravery of his happy warriors is more than animal courage. And though in Greek history the just cause sometimes suffered defeat,⁸ he might well affirm that his little band of citizens could maintain their liberties *ἐν κλύδωνι τῶν ἀλλων πόλεων*⁹ only through a valor, a discipline, and a vigilance based on perfect virtue.¹⁰

Within the state the general problem has two aspects, the morality of the means by which power is attained and the ends for which it is used. Plato is not careful to distinguish the two questions. For his fantastic literary hypothesis of a benevolent tyrant has no effect on his healthy Greek abhorrence of the tyrant of experience.¹¹ He finds no occasion for the casuistic psychology of Browning's "Saviour of Society" or of the modern historian's rehabilitation of Sulla. He takes it for granted that power unscrupulously achieved

¹ *Menex.* 246E; *Polit.* 307E; *Laws* 626B, 829A.

² *Laws* 628D.

³ Maneuvers: *Laws* 829; German student duels and American football: 830E-31A.

⁴ *Rep.* 374, 395BC, 404A, 416D, 453B, 467, 522E, 525BC, 526D, 537A, 543A; *Laws* 758B, 760-62, 795BC, 796, 813D, 829, 833A, 942BC.

⁵ 626A: *τοῦτο καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ δραστέον.*

⁶ 660E. The "inconsistency" with 630D and 712E hardly requires explanation for an intelligent reader.

⁷ 630B, 963E.

⁹ 758A.

⁸ *Laws* 638B.

¹⁰ 829A.

¹¹ Cf. closely the language of *Rep.* 502B with that of 565E.

will be selfishly used. He assumes that the politicians and demagogues who disdain no means of winning office will govern the state in the interest of self or party. All existing states are condemned in his eyes by the fact that not the common weal but to benefit friends and injure enemies is their conception of the end of government and their definition of justice.¹ They are not polities but factions,² and, precisely because for such politicians politics is the art of seizing the helm of the ship of state, they scorn the philosopher who gives his mind solely to the science of navigating the ship.³

Deeper goes the question, What, for the ends of government, is the common weal? Is it victory in war, wealth, luxury, power, personal liberty, character, or the moral betterment of the citizens?⁴ Here Plato parts company from the modern liberal who, proclaiming that it is impossible to make men virtuous by act of parliament, would limit the functions of the state to the protection of the citizen at home and abroad, the enforcement of contracts, and the administration of justice in the external⁵ and vulgar⁶ sense of the word. For Plato the end is to produce good men absolutely,⁷ not, except in a reformed state, good citizens relatively to the government and the party in power.⁸ On this issue in his idealistic moods he admits no compromise. "Watch me," says the Athenian, "if I propose a single law that looks to any other end."⁹ The imperialistic statesmen of the Athenian prime were more efficient and perhaps more honest

¹ *Supra*, p. 358, n. 3.

² *Laws* 712E; οὐκ εἰσὶν πολιτεῖαι; 832B; τὰς οὐ πολιτεῖς; *Rep.* 497B: οὐδὲ ἡγεμονία.

³ Cf. in *Class. Rev.*, June, 1906, 247, my interpretation of the allegory of the ship, *Rep.* 488. *Polit.* 499B repeats *Rep.* 488E. In his own state Plato punishes with death unauthorized πολυτραγωνεῖν τερπὶ τὸν νῦν. Cf. *Laws* 952D. But the suppression of free inquiry by the mob of Athens is a very different matter. As against the ordinary Athenian Philistine or politician Plato almost sympathizes with the Sophists. See his treatment of Anytus in *Meno* 92BC. Sophistry is after all more akin to philosophy than is mere rhetoric. *Gorg.* 520B: τὴν δὲ ἀληθεῖαν κάλλιστην ἔστιν σοφιστικὴ ἥπτορική; cf. *Gorg.* 465C; *Sophist* 230-31; *Euthydem.* 305D.

⁴ *Laws* 632C, 962DE; *Rep.* 562AB.

⁵ *Rep.* 433E.

⁶ *Rep.* 442E: τὰ φορτικά.

⁷ *Laws* 630C: οὐ τις δικαιοσύνην ἀν τελέαν ὄνομάσειεν.

⁸ Cf. Aristotle's discussion of this distinction, *Politics* 1276b 30 ff., 1238a 37.

⁹ *Laws* 705E.

than their feeble successors.¹ But intellectually and morally they stood on the level of the constituents whom they flattered.² They were ministers of the people's desire, not educators of its will.³ They gave the citizens docks and arsenals instead of soberness and righteousness, and they could not teach their knack, such as it was, to their sons or successors.⁴ The true political art is the care and charge of souls.⁵ The genuine statesman persuades the many to right opinion, and can teach the few by knowledge to carry on his work. In this sense Socrates, prototype of the guardians of the *Republic* and *Laws*, is Athens' only master of the political art—the only one who never loses sight of the end,⁶ the only one who begins at the true beginning.⁷

With these ends in view Plato in his Utopian constructions goes beyond even the practice of the normal Greek πόλις in the subordination of the individual to the common weal.⁸ His object, however, is not the socialistic equalization of the "good things" of life (*τὰ λεγόμενα ἀγαθά*),⁹ but the enforced disinterestedness of the rulers,¹⁰ and the complete self-realization of every type of man in limitation to his own proper sphere and task.¹¹ This higher division of labor, of which the economic is a symbol,¹² is the unifying principle that resolves the antinomies of the definitions of the virtues which the minor dialogues dramatically left as unresolved *ἀπορίαι*. It is the

¹ *Gorg.* 517B; *Meno* 93A.

² *Polit.* 275C, 292D; *Rep.* 489C, 426D; *Gorg.* 513B.

³ *Gorg.* 517B; cf. *Laws* 687E; *Rep.* 426C, 494A.

⁴ *Supra*, p. 357, n. 9.

⁵ *Laws* 650B; *Laches* 185E; *Gorg.* 463E, 464C, 513E.

⁶ *Gorg.* 521D, 507D, 515B, 504DE.

⁷ *Euthyphro* 2C: *καὶ φαίνεται μοι τῶν πολιτικῶν μόνος ἀρχεσθαι δρθῶς*; cf. *Laws* 631A.

⁸ See the well-known utterances of Demosthenes and the tragedians, and Aristotle *Politics* 1337a 27: *ἄμα δὲ οὐδὲ χρὴ νομίζειν αὐτὸν αὐτοῦ τινα εἶναι τῶν πολιτῶν, ἀλλὰ τάντας τῆς πόλεως*; cf. *Rep.* 420, 466, 519–20, 414E; *Laws* 804D: *ώς τῆς πόλεως μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν γεννητόρων δυτας*; 923B: *καὶ οἱ μᾶλλον τῆς πόλεως εἶναι τό τε γένος πᾶς καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν*; 740A, 930B = *Rep.* 460E: *τίκτεν τῷ πόλει*.

⁹ Cf. the satire of this ideal in *Rep.* 420E.

¹⁰ *Supra*, p. 358, n. 4.

¹¹ *Rep.* 420D, 421C, 423D, 466B; *Laws* 807C, 846D.

¹² *Rep.* 443B ff.; cf. *Charm.* 161–64.

inner root of justice, of the soberness and righteousness which Plato never wearies of reaffirming is the health and happiness, not only of the state, but of the individual. He thus returns in the end to a modified form of the Eudaemonism, not to call it Utilitarianism or Hedonism, which he first formulated partly as a dialectical exercise in the *Protagoras*,¹ and eloquently repudiated as a conscious motive of conduct in the *Gorgias* and *Phaedo*. There is no inconsistency or change of view. Plato, like Jowett and Matthew Arnold, dislikes the word "pleasure."² But he does not attempt to deny the logical absurdity of a conscious being deliberately choosing a preponderance of disagreeable feeling in his life.³ The *Laws*, taking up again the challenge of Glaucon and Adeimantus,⁴ repeats the exact argument of the *Protagoras*,⁵ with a hint of its qualification and reinforcement by the *Philebus*.⁶ But though pleasure and the greatest happiness are the result, and on a challenge must be acknowledged as the end, Plato still refuses to contemplate them as the aim. That must be described as the attainment of the good, or co-operation and harmony with God,⁷ or, less transcendently, as the realization of the virtues in self-controlled, beautiful, and orderly human lives.⁸ The goal is not to be lightly won.⁹ But the prize is worth whatever it may cost¹⁰ in the sacrifice of the liberty of caprice,¹¹ the assertion of

¹ The interpretation of the *Protagoras* proposed in my *Unity of Plato's Thought*, 21, has not, I think, been refuted. One eminent scholar affirms in general terms that no philosophical idea can be extracted from the dialogue, but he offers no evidence. Others think that I exaggerate Plato's later concessions to Utilitarianism or Hedonism. But that is, perhaps, because, being unacquainted with the long English Utilitarian controversy, they overlook the finer qualifications and distinctions of terminology, and rely on the general tone and temper of the *Gorgias* and *Phaedo*.

² *Laws* 667E.

⁴ 662DE; cf. *Rep.* 362E.

³ 733A.

⁵ 733.

⁶ 733E-34A; cf. *Rep.* 581E, 583-85.

⁷ 716BC, 906AB; *Theaetet.* 176B; *Phaedr.* 274A; cf. also *Rep.* 501B, 589D; the true ἀνδρείκελος is the θεῖος; 613B.

⁸ *Rep.* 501B-C, 500D: οὐτεὶ δρᾶ . . . εἰς ἀνθρώπων ἥθη . . . τιθέναι . . . δημιουργὸν . . . σωφροσύνης τε καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ ξυμπάσης τῆς δημοτικῆς ἀρετῆς; *Polit.* 309CD, 311A-C; *Laws* 817B, 807-8, 829A.

⁹ *Rep.* 608B: μέγας . . . δὲ ἀγών . . . τὸ χρηστὸν οὐ κακὸν γενέσθαι; *Gorg.* 526E; *Phaedo* 107C; *Laws* 718D: οὐ γὰρ πολλὴ τις εὐπέτεια, etc.; 807D.

¹⁰ *Laws* 770E.

¹¹ *Rep.* 558C, and 563 with 492E, 557B; 561D with 458E, ἀτάκτως, and *Laws* 807D: τάξιν δεῖ γίγνεσθαι πᾶσιν τοῖς ἀλευθέροις.

personal rights,¹ the indulgence of natural instincts,² and even the Greek love of beauty³ and the flattering allurements of the versatile and honied muse.⁴ We are athletes⁵ in training to run for a more than earthly or Olympic crown.⁶ We are ourselves enactors of a tragedy fraught with deepest issues,⁷ and we cannot permit even the art of Homer or Sophocles to relax our temper,⁸ unsettle our convictions, and untune us for our parts.⁹

It is not easy and not necessary here to distinguish the abiding from the merely historical significance of this teaching. In Plato, as in Wordsworth, Carlyle, and Ruskin, the first eloquent protest against the license of an emancipated age, intoxicated with liberty¹⁰ and the new thought,¹¹ hardened with advancing years into what he himself styles *λοιδορεῖν . . . πράγματα ἀνίατα* (*Laws* 660C) and a hostile critic might describe as the impotent railing of reaction. Modern liberal historians naturally do not sympathize with Plato's condemnation of the Periclean ideal¹² in the light of post-Periclean experience. But it was in essence the judgment of Isocrates, Aristotle, and of nearly all serious thinkers of the fourth century except the popular orators. I need not here repeat what I have elsewhere said on this topic in commenting on Thucydides and the *Timaeus*.

The eloquence of the ethical and religious discourses disseminated through the *Laws*¹³ does not appeal to a generation which is impatient of all moral admonition, and which prefers epigrams against the seventh commandment to disquisitions on the beauty of holiness.

¹ *Laws* 922D; *Rep.* 556A.

² 839.

³ 727D; cf. the perhaps half-humorous *ἔὰν καὶ μὴ μουσικὰ πεφύκῃ* of 829D.

⁴ *Rep.* 607A = *Laws* 802C.

⁵ 830A; *Rep.* 403E; cf. *Laches* 182A.

⁶ *Rep.* 465D, 540; *Laws* 807C, 840A, 946-47.

⁷ 817B.

⁹ *Rep.* 604, 606AB, 388D.

⁸ *Rep.* 387C, 411B.

¹⁰ *Rep.* 562D; *Laws* 698B, 701BC.

¹¹ *Laws* 886D: *τὰ δὲ τῶν νέων ἡμῖν καὶ σοφῶν;* 888A, 889-90; *Phaedr.* 245C: *δεινῶν*, etc.; 275B: *ῶσπερ ὑμεῖς οἱ νέοι;* *Laws* 881A; *Theaet.* 180D and *passim*.

¹² In patriotic moods (*Menex.* 238-39), or in criticism of Sparta (*Laws* 634A), he himself does not disdain the topics of the Periclean Funeral Oration.

¹³ 631B, 661, 716, 721B, 726-34E, 783C, 806E, 854A-C, 903-906, 916D ff., 923A ff., 937A.

But it is hardly possible to exaggerate their influence on the later ethical literature of the Greeks which found in them endless texts for edifying paraphrase. We have lost that innocent Stoic and neo-Pythagorean faith in precepts which would make invincible the heart that cons them. But Plato anticipates our irony with the apology that in an age of transition and disintegration of all traditional restraints even the slightest reinforcement of the moral sense by good words is worth the hazard of the skeptic's scorn.¹

2. These little sermons are woven into the design of the *Laws* by virtue of the two principles, that the lawgiver must always keep in view his conscious moral purpose and that every law should have a persuasive preamble. The first we have in large measure anticipated. The idea of the *σκοπός* or *τέλος*, though especially emphasized in the *Laws*, is not peculiar to that treatise. It is the real object of quest in all attempts of the dialogues of search to define the true political or royal art.² It is of frequent recurrence in the *Republic*.³ It is at least implied in the *Politicus*.⁴ The *Laws* merely repeats it with the insistence of old age dwelling upon lifelong conviction.⁵ Plato varies the expression, he tells us, but he always has the same end in view, whether he describes it as soberness and righteousness, friendship and harmony, or the only true wisdom.⁶

3. The idea of the Proem cannot be traced in this way through the dialogues. It is not a fundamental principle, but in one aspect a question of expediency in the drafting of legislation and in another a recurrent literary image employed to justify what otherwise might seem irrelevant digression from the titular theme. The word may of course sometimes be used in a purely matter-of-fact and conventional way.⁷ The image was suggested by the analogy of music. Its transference to law was aided by the double meaning of *νόμος* on

¹ 718D, 890D, 907C.

² *Meno* 91A; *Euthydem.* 291B, 291DE; *Protаг.* 318E with *Rep.* 428B; *Protаг.* 321D ff.; *Gorg.* 455B with 504D, 507D, 503DE *εἰκῆ*, with *Laws* 635E.

³ 420B, 484CD, 501B, 519C, 506A, 540A.

⁴ 293C *δρον*, 308E, 310E.

⁵ 625E, 626B, *δρον* 628C, 630C, 635E, 688A, 693B, 705E, 707D, 714B, 717A, 743C, 757D, 770D, 962A, 962D.

⁶ 693BC. Cf. *supra*, p. 357, n. 11.

⁷ E.g., *Rep.* 357A; *Laws* 722D.

which Plato repeatedly plays in both the *Republic* and the *Laws*.¹ The validity of the idea has been endlessly debated from Milton and Turgot to the present day, and we need not delay here for the history of the controversy. To the hard-headed jurists who define law as the command of a political superior to a political inferior, the hortatory preamble seems only to weaken the force of the positive enactment and to confuse the distinct spheres of ethics and law.² Plato already knows their definition,³ and replies to their objections that his object is not merely to legislate but to teach,⁴ and that he is unwilling to renounce the hope of even a slight effect of edification. All depends perhaps on the complication of the society, the technicality of the laws, and the likelihood, which Plato assumed, of their use as textbooks in education.⁵ For Plato the laws are a species of literature,⁶ and in this, as elsewhere, anticipating the point of view of an old-fashioned Roman, he affirms that they must be safer teachers and sounder critics of life than any poet.⁷ Though the conception of the prelude or preamble is generalized from music, Plato associates it in the *Laws* rather with the proem of the rhetor whose object is to conciliate the good will and attention of the hearers and make them more plastic to the main argument. For rhetoric, rejected in the *Gorgias* as the flattering counterfeit of δικαιοκή, is accepted in the *Politicus*⁸ and *Laws* as the handmaid of true statesmanship.⁹ The association with rhetoric is apparent from the words with which the idea is introduced in 718D: τὸν ἀκούοντα, ὅπερ φασίν, εὐμενέστερον γιγνόμενον εὐμαθέστερον ἀπεργάσεται.¹⁰ Compare fur-

¹ Rep. 424D, παρανομά; Laws 700D, 701A.

² 857D, 891D: νομοθεσίας ἐκτὸς . . . βαλνεῖν.

³ 723A: τὴν ἐπίταξιν, δ δῆ ἔστιν δ νόμος.

⁴ 857E, 880E, 788A, 770A, 730B, 724B.

⁵ 811D; cf. 957C.

⁶ 891A; cf. *Phaedr.* 258 ff. Being written they may be studied till even the dullest understands. The apparent "contradiction" between this and the standpoint of *Phaedr.* 275D need not disturb us. It is enough, however, to prove the spuriousness of the silly exaggeration of the *Phaedrus* passage in *Epistles* vii. 344.

⁷ 941C, 858D, 964C, 817C.

⁸ 304CD.

⁹ The Socrates of the *Gorgias* says: δλλ' οὐ πώποτε σὸν ταύτην εἶδες τὴν δητορικήν.

¹⁰ I have emended φησίν to φασίν and inserted commas. τὸν ἀκούοντα δηρ φησίν is hardly Greek. The parenthetical δηρ φασίν introduces the virtual quotation of the rhetoricians' definition of the purpose of the proem. Cf. the use of ὅτι φασίν, 716C.

ther 723D and 730B, *εὐηνίος μᾶλλον καὶ εὔμενεῖς*, and perhaps the half-technical use of *σχῆμα* in 718C. The exhortation addressed to the first colonists of the new city in 716 ff., Plato says, is a sample of many things which a legislator who shares his moral purpose must make opportunity to say, but which do not suit the *σχῆμα* of positive law.¹ Plato is inexhaustible in illustration of this idea. The unexplained *sic volo sic jubeo* of the legislator is the method of the empiric slave doctor who prescribes a treatment without vouchsafing explanation and bounces away to the next case.² The lawgiver who first seeks to persuade resembles the physician who consults with his patient and both learns and teaches.³ To the objection that this is education, not the practice of medicine, Plato replies that his purpose is to educate. The true legislator is the kindly parent who exhausts admonition before resorting to threats and force.⁴ This distinction, he argues in 719–20, must be observed throughout the laws, and he proceeds to exemplify it further by a specimen law of marriage, accompanied by a proem, embodying the ideas of the *Symposium*.⁵ The law and the proem are repeated in substance in the body of the *Laws*.⁶ Here they merely illustrate the principle. In 722DE he generalizes the conception of the proem or prelude and claims originality for the application of it to law. All previous systems of legislation, he elsewhere tells us, are defective through their neglect of this principle.⁷ The discourse addressed to the new citizens on the honors due to the gods and their parents⁸ was an unconscious proem to the whole body of the *Laws*.⁹ Plato proposes to complete it with a conscious proem on the right conduct of life in relation to our souls, our bodies, and our possessions. This, which occupies the first half of the fifth book,¹⁰ is a compendium of ethical philosophy recalling, though not slavishly, many of the motives of the *Gorgias*, *Phaedo*, and *Republic*. The proem to the *Laws* as a

¹ 718B.

² 720C, 857C.

³ Note the parallel and the contrast with the false rhetoric of the *Gorgias*, which boasts that it is more persuasive than the physician himself (456BC).

⁴ 859A.

⁶ 773–74.

⁵ 721.

⁷ 857C.

⁸ 716–18.

⁹ 723D: ὅν οὐχ ὡς προοιμαζόμενος εἴπεις τότε.

¹⁰ 726–34E.

whole is thus finished,¹ though it is to be observed that the entire treatise on natural theology which fills the tenth book is not only a special prologue to the law of impiety,² but, in some sort, an indispensable proem of all legislation.³ The long disquisition on the application in criminal law of the distinction between voluntary and involuntary acts is justified as an explanatory proem.⁴ The function of the proem is sometimes further defined to be the recommendation of counsels of perfection or the discussion of minutiae of conduct and life, which, if put in the form of positive prescription, would provoke ridicule or impatience.⁵ The truly law-abiding citizen not only obeys the letter, but conforms to the spirit of the laws.⁶ Thus most of the moralizing and philosophical digressions in the *Laws* are treated explicitly or by implication as proems.⁷

An interesting minor feature in the use of this motive in the literary economy of the *Laws* is the ingeniously varied formula of transition from the proem to the law, always so worded as to imply the hope that the admonition, the counsel, the explanatory reason will suffice, and the threats and penalties of the law will be superfluous.⁸

With these and similar clues to guide him, an attentive reader will soon find his way in the apparently labyrinthine structure of the *Laws*, and will have less difficulty in apprehending the essential unity and coherency of the treatise than in understanding the criticism that refuses to accept it as Plato's substantially finished work.⁹

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¹ 734E.

⁴ 857, 860-61.

² 907D.

⁵ 718B, 773C, 790A, 800B.

³ 887C; cf. 885B and 881A.

⁶ 822E.

⁷ 806E ff. is an exception.

⁸ 721C, 745A, 774D, 785A, 800A, 843A, 854C, 871A, 880A, 907D, 917B, 923C, 932A, 938A, 943A, 960A.

⁹ Subsequent papers will deal more fully with the plot of the *Laws*, with the other topics announced above (p. 347), and with the recent literature of the subject.

IS THE SUFFIX OF ΒΑΣΙΑΙΣΣΑ, ETC., OF MACEDONIAN ORIGIN?

BY CARL D. BUCK

Among the many languages which have made direct or indirect contributions to English the ancient Macedonian has not hitherto figured. But if the view referred to in the above caption is correct, Macedonian is the ultimate source of a suffix which, after gaining a wide currency in Hellenistic Greek, passed into late Latin and the Romance languages, and from French into English, where it has reached the height of its expansion, being by far the most distinctive and freely employed designation of females. For, as is well known, the *-ess* of *duchess*, *countess*, *mistress*, *priestess*, *goddess*, *seamstress*, *lioness*, and countless others,¹ is from the French *-esse*, this from late Latin *-issa*, and this again from Greek *-ισσα*. The thought that a language which disappeared leaving such scanty traces of its existence as Macedonian has contributed a suffix which is familiar to all modern Europeans lends an exceptionally wide interest to that view of the source of *-ισσα* which has been reached independently by two eminent scholars and has found favorable mention in Brugmann-Thumb, *Griechische Grammatik*. I quote as follows:

Schulze, *Lat. Eigennamen*, 40, footnote: "Der Ausgang des weiblichen Namens *Voltisa* vergleicht sich dem Ausgang der Formen [there follow three names in *-izza*, *-iza* from Latin inscriptions of Dalmatia and Pannonia], weiterhin den hellenistischen Femininen auf *-ισσα*, deren Herkunft aus der makedonischen Hofsprache sich durch naheliegende Erwägungen und eine Prüfung der ältesten Zeugnisse (Lagercrantz, *Zur griech. Sprachgesch.*, 84) wahrscheinlich machen lässt. Zuerst belegt sind *βασιλισσα* (bei den Komikern Alkaios und Philemon, *Antiattic.* 84. 26, Athen. 13. 595c), also der Titel den die Königinnen der hellenistischen Höfe, gewiss nach makedonischem Muster, stets führen, und *Μακεδονισσα* in einem *Μακεδόνες* genannten Stück des Strattis (*Antiattic.* 108. 29)."

Solmsen, *Woch. f. klass. Phil.* (1904), 971: "Zu den Nomina auf *-ισσα* sei bemerkt, dass über ihre Herkunft das richtige, das auch dem Ref. seit längerer

¹ The end is not yet. The very latest in the language of newspaper headlines is "coppess," feminine to "cop," hence = "policewoman."

Zeit klar war, jetzt von W. Schulze in seinem Buche: *Zur Geschichte latein. Eigennamen* (Berlin, 1904), S. 40, Anm. 5, ausgesprochen worden ist: das Suffix ist ursprünglich makedonisch gewesen und durch *βασιλισσα* Μακεδόνισσα und sonstige Femininbildungen in der zweiten Hälfte des 4. Jahrhunderts ins Griechische gelangt."

Brugmann-Thumb, *Griech. Grammatik*, 214: "W. Schulze und Solmsen [with references to above] machen makedonischen Ursprung des Suffixes wahrscheinlich; die Entstehungsgeschichte des Suffixes gehört in diesem Fall nicht zur griech. Grammatik."

I have quoted the statements of Schulze and Solmsen in full, for they exhibit the whole case that has been made out for the Macedonian origin of *-ισσα*. The fact that this conclusion has been reached independently by two such critical scholars is deservedly impressive. But I have been unable to suppress my skepticism of the evidence, and am writing this note in the hope of provoking some further discussion. The evidence of a suffix *-issa* in Macedonian is an assumption only. It is not found in any words definitely known to be Macedonian. Women's names such as Schulze quotes from Dalmatia and Pannonia may have been current also in Macedonia, but these are hardly to be separated from the masculine names in *-issa*, which Schulze also quotes from Gaul, Etruria, Thrace, and Dacia; and, whatever their real home and affinities, they do not resemble at all in function the Greek words in *-ισσα*.

The whole argument rests merely on the suggestiveness of *Μακεδόνισσα* and of *βασιλισσα* as applied most frequently to the queens of the Macedonian courts. But if *βασιλισσα* had become the usual expression for "queen," no matter what its source, it is only natural that in the Macedonian period its most frequent application would be to the Macedonian queens. Both Schulze and Solmsen, who speaks of *βασιλισσα* coming into Greek in the second half of the fourth century, seem to have overlooked the fact, not mentioned by Lagercrantz, *op. cit.*, but stated in any Greek lexicon, that the word is used by Xenophon, *Oec.* 9. 15. In this, the earliest occurrence, there is no allusion to anything Macedonian, nor any probability of Macedonian influence. As for *Μακεδόνισσα*, it is only one of dozens such feminine ethnika, and there is no reason to suppose it was the first of its kind.

It is true, of course, that these words in *-ισσα* are of compara-

tively late appearance in Greek, and it is further obvious from the *-σσ-* that they are not native to the Attic dialect. But there is nothing in their form or in the circumstances of their appearance to make it improbable that they originated in Ionic, as was assumed by Lagercrantz, *op. cit.*, before a foreign source had been suggested. On the contrary, everything favors this. The feminine ethnika in *-ισσα* are especially common in the Orient, being much less frequent in Greece proper. Cf. Dittenberger, *Hermes*, XLI, 179 ff. And it is just in the Orient that the *κοινή*, with its well-known admixture of Ionic elements, gained its first sway, not having to meet here the opposition of established local dialects, strict Attic or other. The conquests and foundations of the Macedonians are the great factor in the spread of this *κοινή*, which they had adopted, and in this sense they may be credited with considerable responsibility for the spread of *-ισσα*. That they actually contributed it from their own active speech is an assumption which is not in the least demanded by the circumstances.

Regarding the manner in which *-ισσα* sprang up in Ionic, Lagercrantz, *op. cit.*, remarked that it arose "offenbar durch ein Kompromiss zwischen den beiden Femininsuffixen *-is* (gen. *-idos*) und *-σσα*." I believe that this is correct, only that we should see the more specific models in the regularly formed feminine ethnika to masculine guttural stems, as *Φοίνισσα*, good Ionic from Homer on, from *Φοινικ-ια* to *Φοῖνιξ*, *Κιλισσα* to *Κιλιξ*, *Θρήισσα* to *Θρῆιξ*. It was from such that *-ισσα* was abstracted and extended to *Μακεδόνισσα*, *Παιόνισσα*, *Γαλάτισσα*, *'Ακαρνάνισσα*, *Αντιόχισσα*, *Σινώπισσα*, etc. It gained favor as more specifically distinctive of feminine ethnika than the older *-is*, which was the commonest suffix so employed (regularly to masculines in *-eis*, but also to many others, as *Λοκρίς*, *Αἰτωλίς*, *'Ελληνίς*, etc.; cf. Dittenberger, *op. cit.*, 177), but which might also designate a locality rather than its female inhabitant, e.g., *Λοκρίς*, *'Αργολίς*, *Θηβαΐς*, *Περσίς*, etc. There was no such ambiguity in the use of *-ισσα*.

These ethnika are also, I believe, adequate models for *βασιλισσα* in place of the older *βασιλεια* and *βασιλίς*.¹ But I cannot resist

¹ Another new formation, which also made its appearance in the fourth century, but was less successful than *βασιλισσα*, is *βασιλιννα*. This is best explained as

the thought that the old word *άνασσα* may have been in the mind of the one who first used *βασίλισσα*. It is not impossible, in spite of the lack of evidence, that *άνασσα* had survived in the spoken language somewhere in Ionic territory, as we know it did in Cyprus. And in any case, from its use in Homer and the later poets, it was familiar to all educated Greeks, and *βασίλισσα* may have been a literary coinage (for example, of Xenophon himself) which soon gained popular favor. It is agreed by all that *βασίλισσα* is the earliest of the appellatives in *-ισσα*, the one after the analogy of which were formed *ἱέρισσα*, *ἡδύισσα*, *στρατήγισσα*, and the hosts of others in late, mediaeval, and modern Greek, as cited by Schwyzer, *Gram. der pergamenischen Inschriften*, 140; Hatzidakis, *Einleitung in die neugriech. Gram.*, 26.

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formed after the analogy of the women's names *Κόριννα*, *Μέλιννα*, *Φίλιννα*, **Ηριννα*, etc., in which the *νν* is due to the well-known doubling of consonants in hypocoristic proper names (*Ξερνώ*, *Φιλλώ*, *Σαπφώ*, *Σέρφος*, *Δικκώ*, etc.; cf. Fick-Bechtel, 30 ff.). Otherwise Bechtel, *Attische Frauennamen*, 64: "Denn *Κόριννα* beruht auf einem Appellativum *κόριννα*, das in der Form mit *βασίλιννα*, in der Bedeutung mit *κόριλλα* zusammenfällt." But, apart from the fact that an appellative *κόριννα* is not, so far as I know, quotable, and that *βασίλιννα* is later than names like *Κόριννα*, how does Bechtel explain the formation of *βασίλιννα* itself? There are some antiquated discussions of it, none of which offers an explanation which can be taken seriously today, and no recent comment has come to my attention. As an appellative secondary derivative in *-ιννα* it is unique, and obviously has nothing in common with *γέννα* (a back-formation from *γεννάω*, Wackernagel) or the rare and mostly foreign *μάννα*, *κίννα*, *βλέννα*, *τήβεννα*, etc.

THE HISTORICAL INFINITIVE

II. ITS LITERARY ELABORATION

By J. J. SCHLICHER

The present paper will treat of the historical infinitive in Sallust, the *Bellum Africanum*, Horace, Virgil, Livy, and Tacitus. Its title is not quite accurate. As we saw in an earlier connection,¹ the manipulation of the construction and its extension into new fields had already begun to appear in the later authors of the Ciceronian period, and there are manifestations of independence in its use even after Tacitus. Moreover, of the authors mentioned above, Horace, in his use of the construction, belongs strictly to the preceding period, and he does not show the distinctive developments common to his contemporaries. But a certain overlapping is unavoidable, and some division of the subject is imposed by the necessary limits of an article. A third paper will deal with the period of the decline.

SALLUST

Sallust has the distinction of using the historical infinitive much more frequently than any other author. He also uses long series more frequently. Very long series, of more than four infinitives, are elsewhere quite exceptional. Only Livy and Tacitus use them to some extent, especially in the earlier part of their work, Livy having 18 with a total of 114 infinitives, and Tacitus 17 with a total of 106. Sallust alone has 31 in his two short works, about one-fourth of all the passages containing the construction, with a total of 213 infinitives.

To be sure, neither the frequency of its use, nor the length of the series, though striking, in itself proves a new treatment of the construction. And yet both are intimately connected with it. The extensive employment of a construction which in its native state is only moderately common, almost necessarily involves its spread into fields where it had not been used before. That this was actually the case in Sallust is shown, first of all, by the use of a very large number

¹ Cf. p. 280.

of verbs and expressions of action which would not have been employed in the early period, or at least but very sparingly and in special cases, since they distinctly imply deliberate purpose and preparation rather than impulse or emotion. A small part of Sallust—about one-fourth of the passages in the *Jugurthine War*—furnishes the following:

cuncta parare, scrutari loca abdita, hostibus terrorem augere, dolis temptare, ad virtutem arrigere, vendere, sedare motus, animos mollire, trahere omnia, polliceri deditioinem, metum simulare, consulem ludificare, vineas agere, aggerem iacere, missitare legatos, exercitum ductare, centuriones corrumpere, supplementum scribere, auxilia accersere.

The great majority of these are nothing more than the various operations incident to warfare. Evidently, to Sallust, the distinct presence of an element of calculation and deliberation, of control of his actions by the actor is no longer a bar to the use of the historical infinitive.

The environment, furthermore, in which we find the infinitives has become in part a very different one. The expressions in which they occur are no longer so abrupt and brief as was the rule in the early period. They are often carefully introduced by words and phrases showing their relation to what has gone before, as in any other form of statement. *Nam, sed, igitur, eo modo, contra ea, ita, tamen, deinde, itaque, tantum modo, interim, ad hoc, ex eo tempore, praeterea, neque idcirco minus, simul, per idem tempus, denique,* and the like are quite common. They are far more numerous in Sallust than the purely intensifying modifiers of the early period. This indicates that the actions expressed by the infinitives are no longer represented as breaking in suddenly and swaying the situation for the time being, as they used to do, but that they have their work in the narrative carefully assigned to them in subordination to the whole. The manipulation of the matter by the writer is thus distinctly apparent.

This is true also of another device of which Sallust is quite fond, the formation of series in which the infinitive is used in co-ordination with indicatives. This sort of combination has been extensively commented upon as having some possible bearing upon the force of

the historical infinitive. Its cultivation from this time on,¹ in Livy, Tacitus, and the epic poets, seems to be due largely to Sallust's example, and its use by him is perhaps best attributed to the "inconciinity" which he favored, and which is itself a striving for effect, resulting of course in a purely artificial and premeditated form of expression. The colors are laid on with foresight and calculation, the infinitive being placed where it will produce the desired effect in its relation to the rest of the passage.

Another evidence of Sallust's analysis and manipulation of the construction is his very frequent use of such distinguishing and co-ordinating words as: *pars—pars, partim—partim, modo—modo, alii—alii*, etc., to set off the various infinitives against each other. A group of acts by different persons, related in some way, but often contrasted among themselves, are thus bound together into a single whole. This is a decided departure from the early practice, when the various elements of a series were regularly presented as so many closely related acts of the same individual or individuals, prompted by the same emotion or impulse. In fact, as we saw,² it was thus that the series probably originated. In Sallust these various actions are parts of a whole, to be sure, but the unifying bond is not in the action or in the actor so much as in the author's mind; e.g.: "Arma capere alii, alii se abdere, pars territos confirmare, trepidare omnibus locis" (*Jug.* 38. 5). "Optimus quisque cadere aut sauciari, ceteris metus augeri. at Marius . . . anxius trahere cum animo suo omitteretne inceptum" (*Jug.* 93. 1). Passages like this occur very rarely in the early period, as in *Cic. Ver.* 4. 149: "Primum senatores clamare sibi eripi ius . . . ; populus senatum laudare, gratias agere; cives Romani a me nusquam discedere." But they lack the distinguishing words which are the earmarks of Sallust's usage. This fact and their rareness show that they are not devised, as Sallust's were, for effect.

The older historical infinitive, as we saw,³ is rather strictly limited as to the subordinate clauses which accompany it. It is only

¹ In Sallust the imperfect is rather more frequently used in this way than either the present or the perfect, but less frequently than these two combined. In Livy the perfect predominates. In Tacitus, on the other hand, the imperfect is used far more frequently than the other tenses.

² Cf. pp. 288 ff.

³ P. 281.

in Caesar and Varro that we find this list beginning to increase. Sallust extends it still farther, and uses subordinate clauses more freely, so that in his works the historical infinitive appears to have all the freedom in this respect which other forms of statement have.

Sallust is the first one, so far as our knowledge goes, who uses the historical infinitive itself in subordinate clauses. This is entirely in line with his general practice. For a subordinate clause is itself more especially the product of thinking. And a historical infinitive in a subordinate clause means that what was once a spontaneous form of expression is now employed in surroundings which are the result of analysis and deliberation rather than impulse. In other words, its presence in a subordinate clause is unnatural, and it must be said that Sallust did not carry this practice very far. For in spite of his freedom in the use of the construction, he had a true feeling for its possible functions and its limitations, and he did in fact confine it to loosely attached clauses, such as the continuing relative (*Jug.* 59. 3; 70. 5) and *cum inversum* (*Jug.* 98. 2).

The same restraint combined with freedom we find also in his use of *esse* and the passive voice. Out of the 16 passives which he uses, 15 are found in the course of series which are begun by active forms, the remaining one being used alone, and impersonally (*agitari*, *Jug.* 30. 1). Out of 19 uses of *esse* and its compounds, 15 are found in the course of the series, only one at the beginning of a series (*Cat.* 20. 7), and three stand alone (*Jug.* 73. 4; 95. 3; *Cat.* 25. 5). The same is true also of other verbs of static or receptive force. Out of 38 uses of *habere*, *pati*, *credere*, *cedere*, *loqui*, *sinere*, *requiescere*, *opperiri*, *dormire*, *morari*, *meminisse*, *cognoscere*, *cadere*, 36 are found in the course of a series, and only two at the beginning (*pati*, *Cat.* 13. 3; *credere*, *Jug.* 72. 2). It will, of course, readily be granted that it is easier to continue a series already begun, than to begin one, with an unusual word. For the initial word of a series will inevitably exercise a sort of leveling effect on the rest, very much like that of the subjunctive mood in so-called cases of attraction.

Sallust supports his infinitives splendidly and never compels them to do service in commonplace situations. When the time to strike comes, however, he leads forth all his reserves like a general on the battlefield. No doubt the great length of his series is for the most

part due to a feeling that it was good strategy to back up his sweeping squadrons by others and still others, in order to drive the attack home. It is thus in large part that he produces the impression of vigor and rapidity for which his style is noted. The description in *Jug.* 51. 1 may serve as an illustration: "Ceterum facies totius negoti varia, incerta, foeda atque miserabilis: dispersi a suis pars cedere alii insequi, neque signa neque ordines observare, ubi quemque periculum ceperat, ibi resistere ac propulsare: arma, tela, equi, viri, hostes atque cives permixti, nihil consilio neque imperio agi, fors omnia regere."

A second kind of support, less spectacular but equally effective, is the introduction of the infinitives by some word or expression which will give them the proper emotional coloring. An example or two will illustrate: "*Cupidine caecus* ob thesauros oppidi potiundi, vineas agere, aggerem iacere aliaque, quae incepto usui forent, properare" (*Jug.* 37. 4). "Quod postquam auditum est, tum vero *ingens metus nostros invadit*: credere se proditos . . . et insidiis circumventos" (*Jug.* 106. 6). Such expressions are quite frequent, and they often serve, as in these examples, to give standing to a set of verbs which would, under ordinary circumstances, be out of place as historical infinitives. We shall have more to say about this particular form of the construction when we reach Tacitus.

The general conclusion we come to regarding Sallust's use of the historical infinitive is that, while he extended it into fields which it had not previously occupied, and although he employed it largely for effect, as a literary device, he did so with due regard to its original force and its possibilities, and preserved well its character as a construction for expressing direct and strenuous action.

THE BELLUM AFRICANUM

In the hands of a meaner writer than Sallust, such abundant use of a striking and peculiar form of expression might easily fall flat, and result in quite the opposite of what Sallust uniformly accomplished by it. That this is no mere theory is shown by Sallust's contemporary, the writer of the *Bellum Africanum*.

The author of this book, apparently a subordinate in the army during the campaign he describes, was possessed of but slight

literary skill. There is scarcely anything to relieve the dead level of his narrative, and this general quality appears in his use of the historical infinitive also. Whereas in Sallust the construction could be made to portray the rush and vigor of a battle or a campaign, in the *Bellum Africanum* it stands as a rule simply for action undertaken, generally with very little indication of its character, except that regard is had to its mere performance rather than the achievement of its end; e.g.: "Interim Caesar a mari non digredi neque mediterranea petere propter navium errorem, equitatumque in navibus omnem continere, ut arbitror, ne agri vastarentur" (*Bel. Afr.* vii. 4).

Of the seventy-odd cases of *interim* which are said to be found in the book, and which constitute perhaps the most striking evidence of the writer's poverty of expression, a surprisingly large number—eleven in all—fall to the 25 sentences containing historical infinitives. This in itself in a way indicates the extent to which he failed to appreciate the real force of the construction. For *interim* merely sets another occurrence by the side of the one just reported, and in no wise represents it as particularly important or conspicuous. It usually introduces a change of actors—for example, in ten of the eleven cases mentioned above—and allows no chance for an accumulation of momentum, no preparation for the explosive act which is the real province of the historical infinitive.¹

In the choice of verbs also the writer of the *Bellum Africanum* shows but little insight into the force of the construction. It is only occasionally that we meet any of the old favorites, like *instare*, *adhortari*, *obsecrare*, or combinations like *mirari at requirere*. The great bulk of the verbs appear to be employed without much discrimination—*continere*, *adaugeri*, *convenire*, *polliceri*, *digredi*, *antecedere*, *versari*, *munire*, *vallum ducere*, *officinas instruere*, *vagari*, *in statione habere*, *se recipere*, *munitiones facere*, *prodire*, *pervenire*, *occupati esse*, *praecipere*, *cingere copias*. Unlike Sallust, the writer of the *Bellum Africanum* does scarcely anything to support these verbs and furnish them with an emotional setting.

¹ Sallust has *interim* or *interea* with infinitives about a dozen times, but the infinitives are nearly always carefully prepared for, especially in the *Jugurtha*, either by intervening words or phrases, or by coming after other historical infinitives in the preceding sentence. Livy uses infinitives in this way very rarely, as does Tacitus, until we reach the *Annals*, where they are slightly more frequent (about seven cases).

In some respects, it is true, he shows moderation compared with Sallust. While the single infinitive occurs only five times, the series are short as a rule, only one having more than four infinitives (chap. xx). The construction is not used in subordinate clauses, and the sentences are on the whole simpler than Sallust's.

HORACE

Horace's use of the historical infinitive is characterized by self-restraint, and belongs in its whole manner to the older period. He has it in twelve passages, of which nine are in the *Satires*, one in the *Epodes*, and two in the *Epistles*. In eight of these passages single infinitives are used, only one passage having as many as three. The various emotions, fright, surprise, shame, and distress or confusion, account for most of them. A few passages will illustrate his manner: *Sat.* i. 8. 47: "at illae currere in urbem" (fright). *Sat.* i. 9. 8-10: "misere discedere quaerens | Ire modo ocius, interdum consistere, in aurem | Dicere nescio quid puero" (distress). *Epist.* i. 7. 61-62: "non sane credere Mena, | Mirari secum tacitus" (surprise). *Epist.* i. 7. 66-67: "Ille Philippo | Excusare laborem et mercennaria vincla" (confusion). *Sat.* i. 5. 30-31: "Hic oculis ego nigra meis collyria lippis | Illinere" (impatience due to discomfort).

VIRGIL

Virgil deserves special mention, if only for the reason that it was his employment of the historical infinitive in the *Aeneid* which in all probability assured its use in epic poetry from that time on. He has the construction in 32 passages, of which two are in the *Georgics*, the rest in the *Aeneid*. Only eight of these have single infinitives, which ranges him along with Sallust and Tacitus rather than with Cicero and Horace. More probably this small proportion of single infinitives in Virgil is due to the weight and dignity which the greater fulness of the series carries with it, and thus fits it especially for the epic.

His use of the construction is conspicuous for the large proportion of passives (10 in the 32 passages). This follows naturally from the frequency with which he uses the infinitives to express the awe or helplessness of human beings in the presence of what occurs to control their destiny.¹ Natural phenomena (*Aen.* iii. 141; vi. 557; vii.

¹ Cf. Group VI, p. 291.

15–18; viii. 15–16, 90) and the relentless operation of fate (*Georg.* i. 199–200; *Aen.* ii. 132, 169; iv. 421–22) both play an important part.

A certain proportion of rather unusual and picturesque words occur, as we expect in poetry, but otherwise there is little that is out of the ordinary. Virgil is in this respect much closer to the early norm than Sallust or Livy, though not so close as Horace. The archaic character of his usage is especially evident in the frequent addition of intensifying words (*semper, retro [referri], vero, una, omnes, nihil, ingenti [trepidare metu], totum, omne, solam*). Especially noteworthy are the intensifying expressions which are at the same time rich in descriptive value, such as *saeva sonare verbera* (*Aen.* vi. 557), *steriles exurere agros* (iii. 141), *arcanos credere sensus* (iv. 422), *duris detrudere contis* (ix. 510), *vario misceri motu* (xii. 217).¹ Supporting adjectives and participles, as in Sallust, are also found, especially those expressing fear (*pavidi, trepidi, turbati*). Another probable evidence of Sallustian influence is the use of *pars—pars* (*Aen.* i. 423–25; vi. 491–92; xi. 883).

LIVY

Livy's use of the historical infinitive is less individual and more composite than that of any other writer up to his time. A large proportion of his cases are normal specimens of the simple type (*hortari, trepidare, postulare, negare, rogare, petere, intueri mirabundi, cura agitare, monere, orare, fremere, ruere, manare gaudio lacrimae, conclamare omnes, admirari, circuire solliciti, instare, currere ad sua tutanda, resistere, etc.*). He shows the influence of Cicero, especially in the earlier books, by the use of the abrupt type,² in which the infinitive begins the sentence (e.g.: i. 17, 46; ii. 24, 27, 50, 58; iii. 16, 35, 37, 38; iv. 37, 44, etc.). Another peculiarity, probably due to Cicero, or at least to rhetoric, is the repetition of the same infinitive in successive clauses (e.g.: *dirimere*, i. 13; *timere*, ii. 32; *nolle*, ii. 45; *instare*, iii. 19; *odisse*, iii. 37, etc.).

Livy has in common with Sallust the use of co-ordinating and responsive words like *pars—pars, alii—alii, nunc—nunc*, and he also has the series composed of mixed infinitives and indicatives. Both of these occur rather less frequently than in Sallust.³ They

¹ These were especially cultivated by Virgil's imitators in the first century A.D.

² Cf. p. 286.

³ Cf. p. 376 and n. 1.

alone would show that Livy's use of the historical infinitive is not a simple one.

In the use of subordinate clauses depending on the infinitive clause, the advance made by Sallust is maintained. In the kinds of subordinate clauses used, however, Livy differs from him, and shows more affinity with the earlier usage. In Sallust the commonest variety of subordinate clause is the relative. In Livy, as in Cicero, it is the various forms of *oratio obliqua*, especially the accusative and infinitive. But in the complexity and extent of his subordinate clauses Livy goes far beyond any other writer. A large number of these clauses, particularly the various forms of indirect discourse, are in turn modified by other clauses subordinate to them; or additional clauses of the same or related types, and co-ordinate with them, are added, so that the whole expression depending on the infinitive often becomes very long and elaborate; e.g.: "Ad ea consul, moveri quidem se vel periculo eorum vel metu, dicere; sed sibi nequaquam tantum copiarum esse ut, cum magna vis hostium haud procul absit, et, quam mox signis collatis dimicandum sit, in dies exspectet, dividendo exercitum minuere tuto vires possit" (xxxiv. 11. 3 ff.).

This form of the construction is especially common in the later books. For other examples cf. ii. 55. 2; iii. 12. 6; iii. 17. 10; iii. 23. 7; iv. 25. 10; v. 29. 8; xxxi. 25. 9; xxxi. 35. 3; xxxii. 36. 6; xxxiv. 11. 4; 58. 4; 61. 6; xxxv. 12. 7; 45. 5; 46. 5; 49. 1; xxxvii. 10. 9; xxxviii. 8. 6, etc.

What we have said in a previous connection¹ about subordinate clauses applies with double force to such expressions as these. They are, first of all, the result of extensive and detailed thinking, which is altogether inconsistent with that impulsiveness which was the original mark of the historical infinitive. Their great elaboration suggests a degree of leisureliness and self-direction which is incompatible either with the commission or the sympathetic reproduction in speech of an impulsive act. Even if we wish to assume that the infinitive itself in such a case still carries with it its original force, the necessary shifting of the attention to the numerous details of the expression which follow will cause both the reader or hearer and the

¹ Cf. p. 377.

speaker himself to lose sight of the nature of the act in the main clause as previously expressed by the infinitive.

Together with this practice goes a strong tendency to use single infinitives, which increases greatly in the later books. And if, in addition, as is actually the case, a large proportion of the verbs thus used in the infinitive are verbs which do not in themselves suggest impulsive or emotional action, like *dicere* and *credere*, then it is clear that we have reached a point where the historical infinitive has definitely lost touch with its older use. Except for the fact that he was keeping up a tradition and for the most part was using the verbs that had been used in the construction by Cicero and others, Livy's historical infinitives in the later books are very often not distinguishable in meaning from indicatives.¹

TABLE I

	Number of infinitives in series									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Books 1-10 . . .	91	46	26	10	3	4	5	.....	.....	.....
Books 21-30 . . .	51	22	12	3	2	.....	.....	1	.....	1
Books 31-40 . . .	52	21	7	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Books 1-5 . . .	65	32	14	7	3	3	5	.....	.....	.....
Books 41-45 . . .	17	6	3	.....	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....

It has been observed that there is a very distinct development in Livy's style between the first books and those of the third and following decades.² There is a corresponding change also in his use of the historical infinitive. It is evident, first of all, in the diminished frequency of the construction. The first decade has 185 passages, the third has 92, the fourth has 82. The contrast is still more striking if we compare the first five books, which have 129 passages, with the last five, which have only 28 (see Table I). The change in the length of the series also is quite marked. Not only do the series

¹ Cicero's use of verbs of saying in the historical infinitive is very different. They regularly express strong assertion or opposition, and their impulsive character is indicated by such accompanying words as *statim*, *omnes*, *vero*, *contra*, and by the use of such verbs as *clamare*, *affirmare*, *instare*, and *negare*; cf. p. 286.

² Cf., for example, Stacey, "D. Entwicklung d. livianischen Styls," *Archiv f. lat. Lex.*, X, 17-82.

of three or more infinitives become less numerous as the work proceeds, but the single infinitives become relatively more numerous.

The author further becomes more conservative, as he proceeds, also in the number and variety of verbs which he uses. This tendency is in two directions. In the first place, many picturesque and figurative expressions which are often substitutes merely for the old types are dropped,¹ and the choice more strictly confined to the well-worn common words enumerated above. On the other hand there is a hardening of certain individual peculiarities of the author also into narrower lines. This is especially noticeable in certain verbs of static force, like *dicere* and *credere*, which come to be used singly to a very large extent in the later books. In the first decade these are used singly 8 times, in series 14 times, in the rest of the books they are used singly 26 times, in series only 9 times.

Not only does this indicate, as we saw, a drifting away from earlier usage, but it suggests also a loss of interest in the construction. In the earlier books it is repeatedly used with all its old-time spirit, as, for example, during the description of the plebeian troubles (ii. 23-28) or of the incidents of the decemvirate (iii. 36 and 37). Livy makes an honest effort to adapt the construction to his own broad and exuberant style, chiefly by the variation and elaboration of the old simple and direct expressions. In doing so, to be sure, he sometimes dilutes the construction unduly by modifying words and phrases, or changes its aspect by introducing static verbs, or verbs involving calculation or deliberation; e.g.: "Nec iam publicis magis consiliis Servius quam privatis munire opes" (i. 42. 1). "Nec patres satis moderate ferre laetitiam" (ii. 54. 10).

In the earlier books he takes some pains to support unusual words by preparatory expressions similar to those used so much by Sallust; e.g.: "Hinc robore corporibus animisque sumpto iam non feras tantum subsistere, sed in latrones praeda onustos impetus facere, pastoribusque rapta dividere" (i. 4. 9). But as time goes on this becomes rarer, as also does the use of the supporting series,²

¹ In the earlier books: "Versare in omnes partes muliebrem animum, in ingenti gloria esse, pudor pectora versare, externa et domestica odia certare in animis, personare fabulam, agitare suo veneno, sermones tempori aptos serere, se plebi venditare, urgere scutis, micare gladiis, manare gaudio lacrimae, lux adpropinquans examinare, ruina acies in preeceps deferri."

² Cf. pp. 377 ff.

and in the later books the construction has become rather infrequent and stereotyped, and commonplace in its effect.

A final proof that Livy did not, at bottom, have a true feeling for the genuine force of the construction is furnished by the way in which he used words like *esse*, and the passive voice. These, it will be recalled, had not been used in the earlier period, except in a very few special cases.¹ Sallust used them more extensively, but in a way which shows that he did not consider them to have good standing as historical infinitives. For in him they are almost invariably found in the course of a series which is introduced by words of dynamic force. Livy used them with very little regard to their position, that is, without making much distinction between them and

TABLE II

	Sallust	Livy
<i>Passives</i> (including <i>fieri</i>):		
Single infinitives.....	1	12
Beginning the series.....	0	7
In the course of the series	15	19
<i>Esse</i> and its compounds:		
Single infinitives.....	3	13
Beginning the series.....	1	5
In the course of the series	15	18

other words. The difference between the two authors is seen from the figures given in Table II. It should be stated that in this matter Livy shows a slight tendency toward conservatism in his later books, infinitives of this sort at the beginning of the series being relatively somewhat less numerous and those in the course of the series relatively more numerous than in the first decade.

In summing up Livy's case, we may say that he gives the impression of one employing a construction which was not native to him. His usage from the start is composite, showing distinct imitation of both Cicero and Sallust in important particulars. There is considerable wavering in his method, as is shown by the changes which his use of the construction undergoes in the course of his work. He has none too firm a grasp of the fundamental force of the construction, as is evident from the way in which he handles *esse* and the passive

¹ Cf. pp. 287 ff.

voice. It is evident also from his large use of static verbs, and especially from the nature of certain forms of expression which he developed and used a great deal, for example, the single infinitives *dicere* and *credere* followed by long and elaborate passages of indirect discourse. That is to say, the types of the historical infinitive which are most distinctively his own are static and analytic in their character, and have little affinity with the original dynamic and impulsive force of the construction.

TACITUS

In his earliest use of the historical infinitive Tacitus appears as a pupil of Sallust. The series are unusually long, six of the twelve passages in the *Agricola* having four or more infinitives each. Five of them, furthermore, show more or less extensive internal similarity to passages with the historical infinitive in the *Jugurthine War*.

The characterization of *Agricola* (chap. 5) is modeled on that of *Jugurtha*:

Agr. 5: Neque segniter ad voluptates et commeatus titulum tribunatus et inscitiam rettulit; sed noscere provinciam, nosci exercitui, discere a peritis, sequi optimos, nihil adiptere in iactationem, nihil ob formidinem recusare simulque et anxius et intentus agere.

Jug. 6. 1: Non se luxui neque inertiae corrumpendum dedit, sed, uti mos gentis illius est, equitare, iaculari, cursu cum aequalibus certare, et cum omnis gloria anteiret, omnibus tamen carus esse; ad hoc pleraque tempora in venando agere, leonem atque alias feras primus aut in primis ferire, plurimum facere, minimum ipse de se loqui.

The last words of this passage are an echo also of *Jug.* 23. 1, which ends similarly—"prorsus intentus cuncta parare."

Agricola 37. ll. 9 ff. is in structure and effect, and even in the individual words, very like *Jug.* 101. 11.

Agr. 37: Tum vero patentibus locis grande et atrox spectaculum: sequi, vulnerare, capere atque eosdem, oblatis aliis trucidare, iam hostium, prout cuique ingenium erat, catervae armatorum paucioribus terga praestare, quidam inermes ultro ruere ac se morti offerre.

Jug. 101. 11: Tum spectaculum horribile in campis patentibus: sequi, fugere, occidi, rapi; equi, viri afflicti, ac multi vulneribus acceptis neque fugere posse neque quietem pati, niti modo ac statim concidere; postremo omnia, qua visus erat, constrata telis, armis, cadaveribus, et inter ea humus infectus sanguine.

Less extensive imitations are found in three other passages:

- | | |
|---|--|
| <i>Agr.</i> 38. 1. 4: Eligere latebras et statim relinquere. | <i>Jug.</i> 101. 11: Niti modo ac statim concidere. |
| <i>Agr.</i> 27. 1. 8: At Britanni. . . . nihil ex adrogantia remittere. | <i>Jug.</i> 98. 2: Barbari nihil remittere. |
| <i>Agr.</i> 20. 1. 6: Nihil interim apud hostis quietum pati. | <i>Jug.</i> 88. 2: Nihil apud se remissum neque apud illos tutum pati. |
| | <i>Jug.</i> 66. 1: Prorsus nihil intactum neque quietum pati. |

In the *Histories* and *Annals* the strong individuality of Tacitus asserts itself, and his use of the historical infinitive, like his use of the language as a whole, gradually becomes a thing peculiarly his own. This appears first of all in the length of the series. While one-third of the passages in Sallust and one-half in the *Agricola* had four or more infinitives each, less than 18 per cent have this length in the *Histories*, and somewhat over 9 per cent only in the *Annals*.

TABLE III

	<i>Histories</i>	<i>An. I-vi</i>	<i>An. xi-xvi</i>
Single infinitives.....	5	4	3
Beginning the series.....	1	7	9
In the body of the series.....	11	9	4

That his style was changing to the very end is still further seen in the use which he makes of the passive infinitives.¹ Sallust was very careful to place these in the body of the series, never at the beginning, and only once does he use a passive infinitive alone. The *Agricola* has one standing alone, and one in the body of the series. In the *Histories* the author's practice still resembles that of Sallust, only one passive infinitive out of 17 being used at the beginning of a series, while five stand alone. Through the *Annals* the tendency to break away from Sallust's restrictions becomes more and more pronounced until the last six books show more passive infinitives used at the beginning of a series than are used singly and in the body of a series combined.

The development of Tacitus' style involves the discarding also of other restrictions which had come to be associated with the his-

¹ *Esse* as a historical infinitive is found in Tacitus only a few times.

torical infinitive. Its use in subordinate clauses had been very rare, even in Sallust and Livy, and confined to loosely attached relative clauses and *cum inversum*, both of them hardly subordinate clauses at all, except in form. Tacitus not only has over twenty cases, compared with three each in Sallust and Livy,¹ but he extends it to various other temporal clauses. His specimens of the relative and *cum* are all of the type found in Sallust and Livy. But in the case of *ubi* (*Hist.* iii. 10; *An.* ii. 4; xi. 37; xii. 51), *postquam* (*An.* iii. 26), and *donec* (*An.* xiii. 57), the infinitive appears in the common forms of these clauses, in conjunction, to be sure, with co-ordinate indicatives.²

In like manner Tacitus discards most of the external framework with which the historical infinitive had become more or less associated. Of the many distinguishing and co-ordinating groups which Sallust had introduced, and others had adopted after him, *modo—modo* is the only one which he uses with much frequency. His opportunities for using them are unusually good, but he evidently disdains such a clear and simple means of expression, and frequently dissipates it by inconcreteness; cf. *Hist.* i. 23, 85; ii. 80; iii. 55; iv. 1, 34, 62; *An.* xi. 16; xii. 61, etc.

The abrupt type of Cicero³ is somewhat common in the *Histories* but gradually disappears in the *Annals*. The same is true of a type which Tacitus uses to some extent in the *Histories*, in which several infinitives of a series are each introduced by *non* or *nemo*; cf. *Hist.* i. 68; ii. 93; iii. 18, 36, 73, 76; *An.* xiii. 19, etc.

But all this disuse of ancient machinery means simply that Tacitus was finding a new basis for the construction, that of its causal and psychological relation to the context. Its earlier use, by Cicero and others, had been almost purely observational. They presented actions simply in the manner of people who had seen them, and in the way in which they were themselves impressed by them. This was often done with fine insight, as by Terence and Horace, and with splendid vim, as by Cicero himself.⁴ But it was reserved for Tacitus to develop fully the possibilities of the different types and to make a

¹ See p. 377 and Canter, *The Infinitive Construction in Livy*, 19.

² Cf. Huebenthal, *De usu inf. hist. ap. Sal. et Tac.*, 38.

³ Cf. p. 286.

⁴ Cf. p. 290.

somewhat rigid construction flexible enough to express the many varieties of mental states which he portrays. The older types of the construction are expanded by him in every direction and given new color and meaning. A few examples only can be given: *Hist.* iii. 25: "Simul attollere corpus, aperire humum, supremo erga parentem officio fungi." *Hist.* iv. 81: "Vespasianus primo inridere, aspernari; atque illis instantibus modo famam vanitatis metuere, modo obsecratione ipsorum et vocibus adulantium in spem induci: postremo," etc. *An.* iv. 28.

Especially effective is the use which Tacitus makes of the historical infinitive to depict the panic and demoralization and the paralysis of independent thought and action due to the imperial power; cf. *An.* i. 4, 7, 16; *Hist.* ii. 80; iii. 36, 73, and numerous other passages.

It is perhaps in his development of a certain type common in Sallust that Tacitus' expansion of the construction is best observed. Sallust's extensive use of the historical infinitive amounted largely, as we saw,¹ to the creating of an illusion, by the skilful use of certain devices. Chief of these was to support his infinitives by various auxiliary or preparatory expressions which lead the mind up to the historical infinitive and give the latter its proper setting.

One form—the appositional—is found where a series of infinitives gives the details of a comprehensive expression preceding them. Compare, for example, *Agricola* 37 and *Jugurtha* 101. 11, which were cited in a previous connection (p. 386).² This device is used quite extensively in both Sallust and Tacitus. But it remains fairly uniform in its nature, no great development being possible, except that in Tacitus the connection between the details and the preceding general term are occasionally very subtle; e.g., *Hist.* i. 23: "Studia militum iam pridem spe successionis aut paratu facinoris adfectaverat, in itinere, in agmine, in stationibus vetustissimum quemque militum nomine vocans ac memoria Neroniani comitatus contubernales appellando; alios agnoscere, quosdam requirere et pecunia aut gratia iuvare, inserendo saepe querellas et ambiguos de Galba ser-

¹Cf. p. 375.

² There had been a very slight use of this device in the earlier authors; e.g., in *Ter. Andr.* 62, and *Cic. Rosc. Am.* 38, 109.

mones quaeque alia turbamenta vulgi." This sort of expression is rather more common in the *Histories* than in the *Annals*.

The second form of supporting expression in Sallust is usually an ablative or prepositional phrase, or an adjective or participial phrase modifying the subject of the infinitive, and contributing the impulsive or emotional background of the act, which would not have been so apparent from the infinitive alone;¹ e.g., *Jug.* 64. 5: "Ita cupidine atque ira, pessimis consultoribus, grassari, neque facto ullo neque dicto abstinere, quod modo ambitiosum foret," etc.

In Sallust these supporting words regularly stand very near the infinitives, in the same clauses, and the connection between them and the infinitives is direct and evident. Such expressions as *milites modesto imperio habitu simul et locupletes, ad caelum ferre*, require no commentary or special acumen for an appreciation of their full meaning. From the treatment they received the action of the soldiers follows as a matter of course.

In Tacitus the whole thing is, as a rule, very much less obvious. Instead of simple emotions only, the most complex states of mind are thus employed, and the presentation of these in their turn is often much less direct, and their bearing on the action expressed by the infinitives less apparent. The motive for this action is often merely suggested in the preceding passage or held in solution, as it were. *Hist.* ii. 80: "Dum quaeritur tempus, locus, quodque in re tali difficultum est, prima vox, dum animo spes timor, ratio casus obversantur, egressum cubiculo Vespasianum pauci milites, solito adstantes ordine ut legatum salutaturi, imperatorem salutavere: tum ceteri adcurrere, Caesarem et Augustum et omnia principatus vocabula cumulare." *An.* ii. 52: "Is, natione Numida, in castris Romanis auxilia stipendia meritus, mox desertor, vagos primum et latrociniis suetos ad praedam et raptus congregare, dein more militiae per vexilla et turmas componere, postremo non inconditae turbae, sed Musulamiorum dux haberi." In *An.* xi. 12, the infinitives at the end follow upon conditions described at considerable length through the chapter; cf. also *An.* ii. 5, 39; xii. 15, etc.

¹ Other examples have been given on p. 378. It was this device, very largely, which enabled Sallust to use successfully so many new words in the historical infinitive, and it was largely the small use of it, or of something like it, which made Livy's similar extension of the historical infinitive vocabulary turn out a comparative failure.

The influence of Virgil and of his use of the historical infinitive appears in Tacitus, especially in a certain preference for regarding what happens as due to conditions, or to the general trend and course of things, rather than to actions of individuals. This fate of the imperial government, as we may call it, occupies a place somewhat similar to that of the *fata deum* in Virgil. *An.* i. 3: "Ut Agrippa vita concessit, Lucium Caesarem euntem ad Hispanienses exercitus, Gaium remeantem Armenia et vulnere invalidum mors fato propensa vel nevercae Liviae dolus abstulit, Drusoque pridem extincto Nero solus e privignis erat, illuc cuncta vergere." *An.* xii. 9: "Despondeturque Octavia, ac super priorem necessitudinem sponsus iam et gener Domitius aequari Britannico studiis matris, arte eorum quis ob accusatam Messalinam ultio ex filio timebatur."

The construction thus comes at times, both in Sallust and in Tacitus, very close to what would in Greek have been expressed by the infinitive with *ωτε*:¹ e.g., *An.* ii. 43: "Sed praeter paternos spiritus uxoris quoque Plancinae nobilitate et opibus accendebatur; vix Tiberio concedere, liberos eius ut multum infra despectare." For a case in Sallust, cf. *Jug.* 106. 6, printed on p. 378.

It is this conception of the historical infinitive, no doubt, which led to the frequent use of *igitur* by Tacitus as an introductory word. And when the construction had once become associated with the inevitable movement from the cause to its consequences, it is but a step to where it stands for the inevitable progress of change in general, within the same action or set of conditions, as well as from one to the other; e.g., *An.* i. 16: "Eo principio lascivire miles, discordare, pessimi cuiusque sermonibus praebere aures, denique luxum et otium cupere, disciplinam et laborem aspernari." Thus the frequent use by Tacitus of *primo—postremo*, and of *paulatim*, in connection with the historical infinitive, and the fondness which he shows for inchoative verbs in it, all become clear, and even the historical infinitive in a subordinate clause introduced by *donec* (*An.* xiii. 57) no longer seems so strange as it might otherwise.

Our discussion of the use made of the construction by Tacitus

¹ It is worth noting also that in some cases the historical infinitive is co-ordinate with clauses introduced by *fuere qui* with the subjunctive; cf. *Hist.* ii. 56, 70; *An.* xiv. 16, 23; *Jug.* 32. 3; 106. 6.

has shown pretty clearly that he shaped it and adapted it vigorously to his own individual style of thought and expression. In the degree in which he did this, he made it difficult for anyone to succeed him in his practice, and, as he lacked imitators as a historian, he had none here. The period of imitation had begun some time before him; indeed, he had himself been an imitator in his early works. But as a mature man he gives the impression of a creative force in the midst of the decline. This latter period, which, so far as our construction is concerned, was to continue for several centuries longer, has an importance and interest of its own, and must be reserved for separate treatment.

In the preparation of the following list of passages containing historical infinitives, I am especially indebted to Huebenthal, *De usu infinitivi historici apud Sallustium et Tacitum*, and Canter, *The Infinitive Construction in Livy*. The lists for Sallust (*Cat.* and *Jug.*), the *Bellum Africanum*, Virgil, and Tacitus are, I believe, complete, or as nearly so as a twofold search will make them. In Livy I have verified and, here and there, corrected Canter's lists, but have not gone over the text independently as a whole myself.

Sallust: *Cat.* 6. 4, 5; 10. 6; 11. 4; 12. 2, 5; 13. 3; 14. 6; 16. 2, 3; 17. 1; 20. 7; 21. 2; 23. 2; 24. 2; 25. 2, 5; 27. 2; 28. 4; 31. 2, 3, 8; 39. 2; 40. 4; 48. 1; 51. 29, 30; 56. 4; 60. 3, 4. *Jug.* 6. 1; 7. 6; 11. 8; 12. 5; 13. 5; 15. 2; 20. 8; 23. 1; 30. 1, 3; 32. 3; 33. 3; 36. 2; 38. 1, 2, 3, 5; 39. 1, 2; 41. 9; 43. 3; 44. 5; 45. 2; 46. 1, 6; 47. 3, 4; 49. 4; 50. 2, 4, 6; 51. 1, 4, 5; 53. 7; 55. 2, 3, 4, 8; 57. 4, 5; 58. 2, 3; 59. 3; 60. 1, 2, 4, 5, 7; 64. 2, 5; 65. 5; 66. 1; 67. 1, 2; 69. 2; 70. 1, 5; 72. 2; 73. 4, 5; 74. 1; 75. 10; 76. 3, 4; 79. 7; 82. 2; 83. 3; 84. 1, 2; 86. 2; 87. 1, 2; 88. 2; 89. 1; 91. 1, 4; 92. 2, 9; 93. 1; 94. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7; 95. 3; 96. 2, 3; 97. 5; 98. 1, 2, 6; 100. 1, 3, 4; 101. 4, 6, 7, 11; 105. 4; 106. 6; 107. 3; 111. 2; 113. 2.

Bellum Africanum: 1. 3, 5; 7. 4; 8. 5; 12. 2; 15. 2; 16. 1, 4; 20. 1, 2, 3; 21. 1; 24. 2; 25. 5; 26. 6; 30. 1; 35. 1; 39. 1; 50. 3; 52. 5; 61. 7, 8; 70. 3; 71. 1; 78. 6; 82. 2; 85. 3.

Bellum Hispaniense: 1. 2; 29. 5; 33. 4.

Horace: *Sat.* i. 5. 11-12, 30-1; 8. 47, 49; 9. 8-10, 65-6; ii. 3. 316; 6. 113-4; 8. 35-6, 58-9; *Epist.* i. 7. 61-2, 66-8; *Epod.* 5. 83-6.

Virgil: *Georg.* i. 199-200; iv. 140-2; *Aen.* i. 423-5; ii. 97-9, 132-3, 169-70, 685-6, 699-700, 775; iii. 140-2, 666-8; iv. 421-3; v. 654-6, 685-6; vi. 490-3, 557-8; vii. 15-18, 77-78; viii. 215-6, 492-3, 689-90; ix. 377-8,

507-10, 538-9, 789-90; x. 288-90, 298-300, 457-8; xi. 142-3, 821-2, 883-5; xii. 216-8.

Livy: i. 4. 8, 9; 13. 1; 17. 7; 27. 7; 30. 6; 35. 1; 36. 3; 40. 6; 42. 1; 46. 6, 7; 47. 1, 7; 48. 3; 54. 1, 3, 10; 57. 6; 58. 3; ii. 3. 6; 6. 1, 2; 7. 8; 10. 4, 8; 13. 8; 22. 6; 23. 7, 10, 11, 13; 24. 2, 3, 7; 27. 1, 7, 13; 28. 1, 6, 9; 32. 5; 41. 7, 8; 44. 2, 5; 45. 3, 4, 5, 11; 47. 12; 48. 1; 50. 3; 52. 2; 53. 2; 54. 8, 9; 55. 2, 6; 56. 11; 57. 4; 58. 4, 5, 7, 8, 9; 65. 2; iii. 1. 7; 2. 12; 3. 4; 4. 7; 8. 1; 10. 10; 11. 9, 10; 12. 5, 6; 14. 5; 16. 1, 6; 17. 10; 18. 7, 8; 19. 1; 20. 2, 3; 25. 9; 31. 7; 35. 4, 5; 37. 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8; 38. 9, 10; 41. 1; 46. 7; 48. 6; 63. 3; 65. 9, 10; 69. 3; 70. 5; 72. 2; iv. 9. 5; 13. 4, 12; 14. 4, 5; 18. 1; 20. 2; 25. 10, 12; 31. 4, 8; 37. 10, 11; 39. 2, 4; 42. 4; 44. 3, 5; 45. 7; 46. 2; 54. 7, 9; 55. 2; 58. 9; 60. 3, 6; v. 7. 10, 11, 13; 9. 2, 3; 10. 3; 19. 3; 26. 9; 29. 8; 39. 1, 8, 13; 46. 1, 6; 47. 5, 11; vi. 3, 8, 9; 4. 6; 6. 6; 11. 7; 13. 4; 14. 12; 20. 15; 23. 2, 9; 24. 7, 8; 32. 1; 33. 9; 39. 5; vii. 12, 12, 13; 14. 2, 10; 17. 7; 20. 2; 23. 10; 32. 4; 33. 2; 37. 9; 40. 3; viii. 14. 1; 19. 6; 21. 6; 27. 2; 35. 3; 39. 4; ix. 7. 9, 12; 14. 3, 7, 16; 22. 3, 4; 26. 11; 27. 14; 33. 8; 35. 4; 40. 14; 45. 10; x. 15. 9; 19. 1, 2; 20. 10; 24. 5; 25. 9; 27. 6; 28. 12; 29. 1, 2, 3; 35. 13; 36. 10, 14; 41. 4; 42. 1; xxi. 4. 2, 4; 7. 8; 25. 12; 50. 1; 53. 1; 54. 9; 58. 5, 11; xxii. 8. 2, 3; 16. 4; 22. 21; 27. 2, 8; 28. 9; 29. 5; 30. 8; 40. 7; 41. 4; 42. 4; 44. 5; 50. 5, 6; xxiii. 3. 8, 14; 4. 2, 3, 5; 6. 4; 8. 6; 10. 13; 14. 7; 16. 10; 18. 9; 27. 2, 6; 34. 5; 35. 4; xxiv. 1. 2; 16. 16; 26. 16; 27. 1, 4; 32. 1, 2, 3; 37. 8; xxv. 3. 17; 8. 9; 10. 1, 2; 14. 8; 18. 8; 24. 5; 37. 9; xxvi. 15. 4; 27. 11; 29. 6; xxvii. 10. 1; 15. 14; 18. 12; 20. 9, 10; 25. 14; 28. 10; 37. 6; 41. 8; 45. 10, 11; 48. 11; 50. 5; 51. 1; xxviii. 6. 4; 16. 6; 21. 8; 33. 4; xxix. 1. 9; 5. 6; 6. 3; 9. 12; 10. 8; 15. 11; 12; 19. 3; 31. 10; xxx. 3. 7; 6. 2; 11. 6, 9, 10; 12. 6; 24. 10; 34. 6; 40. 8; 42. 11; xxxi. 6. 5; 25. 9; 35. 3; 41. 11, 12; xxxii. 10. 6; 22. 2; 30. 3; 36. 3, 4, 6; 39. 10; 40. 2; xxxiii. 12. 5; 15. 7; 25. 11; 32. 7; 33. 1; xxxiv. 11. 3; 12. 1; 19. 2; 33. 1; 37. 1; 39. 11; 41. 5; 50. 1; 58. 4; 61. 6, 8, 10; xxxv. 11. 8, 9, 10, 13; 12. 7; 31. 1; 36. 7; 45. 5; 46. 5; 47. 2; 49. 1; xxxvi. 15. 2; 19. 2; 32. 3; 34. 5; xxxvii. 10. 7, 9; 11. 9; 15. 1; 19. 1; 20. 8; 26. 12; 32. 12; 52. 10; xxxviii. 2. 7; 8. 6; 12. 6; 14. 8, 13; 25. 13; 33. 6, 7; 40. 10; xxix. 5. 1; 10. 8; 12. 7; 13. 3, 7; 31. 9; 34. 6; 39. 4, 5; xl. 6. 7; 8. 4; 26. 4, 5; 40. 8; 46. 14; 47. 2; 55. 5; 56. 2, 7; 58. 2; xli. 20. 3, 4; xlvi. 3. 5; 59. 3; 60. 3, 4; 62. 13, 14; 65. 11; 66. 5; xlvi. 1. 8, 9; 17. 8; xlvi. 4. 6; 5. 1; 7. 3, 8, 9; 10. 1; 25. 11; 26. 6; 28. 9; 34. 8; 36. 7; xlvi. 1. 4; 5. 9, 10; 6. 2; 30. 2; 36. 8, 9; 41. 7.

Seneca Rhetor: *Controv.* iii. Prol. 16.

Tacitus: *Germ.* 7; *Agr.* 5, 15, 18 (2), 19, 20, 21, 27, 34, 36, 37, 38, 42; *Hist.* i. 23, 35, 36, 45, 46, 50, 51, 52, 62, 65, 68, 71, 72, 81, 85, 89; ii. 5, 6, 11, 12, 18, 19, 22, 23, 28, 29, 30 (2), 35, 41, 42, 46, 52, 56, 70, 78, 80, 82, 84, 93, 94; iii. 10, 17 (2), 18, 25, 31, 33, 36, 48, 49, 53, 55, 58, 60, 63 (2), 73, 76, 84; iv. 1 (2), 2, 11, 16, 29, 34, 42, 46, 49, 54, 62, 67, 70, 80, 81, 83, 84; v. 15, 22;

Ann. i. 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 11, 16 (2), 19, 21, 25, 28 (2), 31, 34, 46, 64, 65, 70 (2), 71; ii. 4, 5, 23, 29, 31, 39, 40, 43, 52, 55, 57, 59, 64; iii. 14, 20, 26, 42, 45, 46; iv. 2, 12, 25, 28, 48, 49 (2), 50, 51, 54, 55, 60, 62, 68, 69 (2), 74; v. 4; vi. 17, 19, 21, 26, 32, 33, 34 (2), 35, 44, 50; xi. 12, 16, 28, 31, 34, 37 (2); xii. 1, 2, 3, 4, 9, 12, 14, 15, 34, 35 (2), 42, 44, 46, 47, 51, 54, 65, 68; xiii. 3 (2), 13 (2), 14 (2), 15 (2), 18, 19, 35, 37, 40, 43, 44 (2), 45, 46 (2), 57; xiv. 3, 5, 8, 10, 13, 14, 15 (2), 16, 23; xv. 5, 11, 12, 13, 16, 17, 27, 37 (2), 38, 51, 58, 71; xvi. 5, 13, 19.

TERRE HAUTE, IND.

ATHENIAN INTERPOLATIONS IN HOMER

PART II. EXTERNAL EVIDENCE

BY JOHN A. SCOTT

Cauer, *Grundfragen*², 145, says: "Die peisistratische Redaktion ist eine äusserlich wohlbezeugte, historisch durchaus verständliche, durch innere Gründe befestigte Tatsache." By this he means that the changing of the Homeric poems in the interest of Athens under the supervision of Peisistratus is a fact established by external probabilities, historical or traditional authority, and the evidence furnished by the poems themselves. In my former paper (*CP*, VI, 419 ff.) the internal evidences were examined and the conclusion reached that there was no proof in the text of the poems of any change in the interest or under the control of the Athenians. If the historical and external evidences show that Athens controlled or changed these poems, then the failure to bring them into harmony with Athenian pride or Athenian tradition is one of the most inexplicable things in literature.

The historical proofs have been examined by Mr. T. W. Allen with a thoroughness and a mastery which can be appreciated by no one who has not himself sought to cover the same field. His article, *Class. Quart.*, VII (1913), 33 ff. (without the discovery of new material in Egypt or elsewhere), seems to me conclusive. As his paper appeared since I published the first part of this study, I shall not, as was intended, discuss the historical or traditional aspects, but wish to be considered as quoting his entire treatment of this phase of the question as the reply to Cauer's statement that the recension of Peisistratus is a firmly established historical fact.

To the authorities named by Mr. Allen I wish to add the work of the Danish scholar, Nutzhorn, *Die Entstehungsweise der Homerischen Gedichte*, Leipzig, 1869. This book, written by a youth of twenty-eight years, is a marvel of sagacity and learning.

The Peisistratean myth seems to have originated in Megara, where political enmity tried to console itself by asserting that it had

lost by fraud what it could not hold by force, and this assumption, which was a balm for the wounded pride of Megara, did a like service for the scholars of Pergamon, who comforted themselves in the envy they felt for their more distinguished and fortunate rivals by assuming that the library at Alexandria and the work of Zenodotus and Aristarchus were but imitations of things long since accomplished by Peisistratus at Athens.

One thing ancient and modern admirers of Peisistratus have been unable to show, and that is any intellectual life which was called into being by him or his sons. It is true that Onomacritus was detected in forging a prophecy for these extremely superstitious despots, and Herodotus tells of their great belief and interest in signs, omens, and oracles, but neither he nor any early writer gives an indication that any efficient intellectual or literary impulse came from that family. The Peisistratidae and the family of Scopas in Thessaly might have the wealth to employ and the taste to appreciate the songs or praises of an Anacreon or a Simonides, but the literary barrenness of Athens during their lives and during the years immediately following gives no indication of any intellectual stimulus coming from them. The great library founded by Peisistratus and carried away by Xerxes was formerly an established fact, e.g., Christ, *Geschichte der gr. Lit.* 4, I, 67: "Das Exemplar des Peisistratos selbst ist im Laufe der Zeiten untergegangen; ob es mit der übrigen Bibliothek durch Xerxes weggeführt wurde lässt sich nichts Sichereres aufstellen." Strabo, a most competent authority, says (xiii. 54): "Aristotle left his own library to Theophrastus, being the first of those whom we know to collect books into a library." Aristotle himself, in the *Ath. Pol.* xvi, discusses the work done by Peisistratus, his criminal laws and the fact that he recognized therein extenuating circumstances, his efforts to assist poor farmers, and his democratic and philanthropic spirit, but makes no reference to his library or to his literary pursuits. If Peisistratus founded a library and made such enormous contributions to the literary and intellectual advancement of Athens as his admirers assume, it seems incredible that such a man as Aristotle should have been ignorant of that fact, or have passed it in silence. No writer, whose works are extant, connects Peisistratus with Homer until the time of Cicero, and no later writer

adds any details which prove a new source of knowledge; accordingly, the multiplication of the names of later writers referring to Peisistratus adds no strength to the argument. Professor Finsler is quite right in saying, *Homer*² (1913), 356: "Wolf deceived almost the entire learning of the last century by his bold exaggeration." Wolf's words are: "Historia loquitur. Nam vox totius antiquitatis et, si summam species, consentiens fama testatur, Pisistratum carmina Homeri primum consignasse litteris et in eum ordinem redegisse, quo nunc leguntur." To use "vox totius antiquitatis," when there is no allusion in Herodotus, Plato, Aristotle, or in any Athenian writer, no allusion in any of the numerous scholia referred to Zenodotus and Aristarchus, and not a hint until the time of Cicero, seems dangerously near intentional deception. Even more to the point is the fact that Herodotus says the Athenians used that passage in the Catalogue which is now most suspected, to explain their unwillingness to yield the command of the fleet to any but Sparta, and makes no comment. No one familiar with the method of Herodotus can suppose that he knew the Athenians were using a forged passage and yet concealed that knowledge. Again, when he identifies Onomacritus by saying that he was detected interpolating Musaeus, there can be no reasonable doubt that he would have added that formerly Peisistratus had intrusted him with collecting Homer and he had also added verses to the text. Aristotle (*Rhet.* i. 15) could hardly have known of the interpolations in the interest of Athens, since he names apparently with no suspicions B 558, which is the most condemned verse in the *Iliad*.

In the case of the charge emanating from Megara, that the arbitrators were tricked into basing their decision on an interpolated verse, one of two things is true, either Homer was well known at that time or he was not. If he was well known an interpolation would have been immediately detected, and if he was not well known he would not have been accepted as the ultimate authority. No later Spartan ever complains of this Athenian duplicity, and no Athenian is ever quoted as defending a proposed injustice by referring to this clever deception of the fathers.

The historical evidence for the recension of Peisistratus or of any other recension in the interest of Athens is so weak that Wilamowitz

was correct in saying (*HU*, 243): "Was Dieuchidas gab, die behauptung der attischen interpolation, war nichts anderes als seine vermutung. Wir sind vollkommen in der lage die richtigkeit seiner conjectur zu prüfen." This is true not only of Dieuchides but of all later writers; they had nothing on which to build except the probabilities of such interpolations, and hence they carry no superior authority from the fact that they lived a few centuries after the supposed events. What are the probabilities that about 550 B.C. Homer came so completely under the control of the Athenians that in 480 Athenian legates at Syracuse could quote as genuine, before representatives of other Greek states, Athenian interpolations, and neither the speakers betray nor the hearers suspect that the quoted verses were spurious?

In order to compel this complete and rapid acceptance of their version the Athenians must have had at that time a commanding and unique position in politics and literature, and all Hellas must without questioning have regarded them as leaders. However, just the reverse is true, since for several years after 510 Athens was unable to settle her internal affairs without outside interference, and even as late as 480, ten years after Marathon, Athens accepted her own inferiority as an unquestioned fact and made no claim to the right to control either the land or the naval forces. Familiar as are the words of the Athenians in the presence of Gelo, they deserve quotation here (*Her.* vii. 161): "Now when your request was to have the whole command, we were content to keep silence; for well we knew that we might trust the Spartan envoy to make answer for us both. But since you have now put forward a request to have the command of the fleet, know that, even should the Spartan envoy consent to this, we will not consent. The command by sea, if the Lacedaemonians do not wish for it, belongs to us." When we consider the relative size of the Athenian and Spartan fleets, their modesty here and their yielding the command at Salamis might seem to us absurd in a people who had already had influence sufficient to compel the acceptance of a Homer changed in their favor. The relative slowness of Athens in coming to a position of leadership is shown by the fact that at the beginning of the sixth century there was a decree against discussing the acquisition of Salamis, while Aegina was a dangerous rival even

after the Persian war. There may have been something more than Persian ignorance or Persian arrogance in the question of Darius on learning of the burning of Sardis, and the similar question of Artaphernes on being offered an Athenian alliance after the expulsion by Cleomenes of seven hundred families from Attica. It could have hardly been due to political influence that an Athenian version of Homer came into universal use between the usurpation of Peisistratus and the gathering of the Greek legates at the court of Gelo.

It is hard to grasp how far Athens lay outside the currents of literature until the rise of the drama. The Muses were connected with Helicon, Olympia, and Pieria, but there was no mount of the Muses in Attica. Thamyris, Musaeus, Orpheus, and Linus were not connected with Athens. Eustathius 1466. 55 quotes from Demetrius of Phalerum a long list of fabled bards, naming the nativity of each, but the name of Attica is ignored. The assumed graves of Linus and other fabled poets found in various parts of Greece show the different poetic centers, yet Attica had no such grave to show. No one of the Homeric hymns originated there; the *Cypria* was assigned to Stasinus of Cyprus, the *Aethiopis* to Arctinus of Miletus, the *Ilias Parva* to Lesches of Mytilene—Thestorides of Phocaea, Cinaethon of Lacedaemon, and Diodorus of Erythrae were also named as authors of this poem—the *Iliupersis* was said to be the work of Arctinus, the *Nostoi*, of Agias of Troezen, and the *Telegonia*, of Eugammon of Cyrene. However the names of these authors may vary, the name of no Athenian appears among them. Proclus is the authority for the statement (*Oxford Homer*, Vol. V, p. 96) that early editors and commentators regarded Hesiod, Peisander, Panyasis, and Antimachus as the greatest epic poets after Homer. Here as in the former groups no Athenian appears. No one of the nine great lyric poets of Greece was a native of Attica, and Solon is the only elegiac poet living before 480 who has found a place in the Hiller-Crusius edition of the *Anthologia Lyrica*. Solon's eminence does not rest on literary foundations.

What other district adjacent to the Aegean was so destitute of literary fame as Attica before the prime of Phrynichus? If poetry was to be recited at the Panathenaic festival the Athenians were obliged to adopt the works of a foreign poet who sang the praises of

rival nations, and if the words of a living poet were desired at Athens it was necessary to send abroad for a Simonides or an Anacreon. We are on safe ground if we say that Athens' literary and political position at the end of the sixth century was not likely to assure the immediate adoption of interested interpolations in Homer.

There still remains the question of Athens' part in the history of the study and preservation of the Homeric poems themselves.

In what follows I shall omit naming the authority for an assertion when it is founded on the evidence given by such scholars as Christ, Sengebusch, Rothe, Finsler, and Allen, since a knowledge of the accepted facts is familiar to anyone who is likely to read this article. The earliest Homeric traditions seem to have clustered about and to have been guarded by the Homeridae, who were especially connected with Chios. Schools of Homeric enthusiasts flourished before the sixth century in Chios, Colophon, Thasos, Miletus, Phocaea, Lampsacus, and other neighboring regions. From these centers a knowledge of Homer early spread throughout all the Greek people. Cynaethus of Chios is said to have carried Homer from his native land into Sicily; Lycurgus is said, on the good evidence of Heraclides and Ephorus, as well as of Aelian and Plutarch, to have carried the poetry of Homer from Samos to Sparta; Abdera was peopled with settlers from Teos, and Xenophanes left Colophon for southern Italy, while Pythagoras left Samos to live in Croton.

About this time, the end of the sixth century, critical or exegetical study was made of Homer in many parts of Greece; Theagenes of Rhegium, a contemporary of Cambyses, and therefore of the Peisistratidae, has the honor of being the first to pursue Homeric investigations (Schol. B. to *Iliad* xx. 67). A list of those made famous by their Homeric studies is given by Tatian *Adv. Graecos* xxxi: περὶ γὰρ τῆς Ὁμήρου ποιήσεως γένους τε αὐτοῦ καὶ χρόνου, καθ' ὃν ἡκμασεν, προηρεύνησαν πρεσβύτατοι μὲν Θεαγένης τε ὁ Ρηγίνος κατὰ Καμβύσην γεγονὼς Στησίμβροτός τε ὁ Θάσιος καὶ Ἀντίμαχος ὁ Κολοφώνιος Ἡρόδοτός τε ὁ Ἀλικαρνασσεὺς καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ Ὀλύνθιος, μετὰ δὲ ἑκείνους Ἔφορος ὁ Κυμαῖος. It is to be noted that no Athenian appears in this list of famous Homeric investigators. Homeric poetry must have been known in all parts of the Greek world by the end of the sixth century, since it seems to be assumed as the

background or setting for nearly all the earliest poetry. The influence of Homer on Archilochus, Terpander, Aleman, Stesichorus, Simonides, and other early poets has too often been discussed to be repeated here. The exact condition has been definitely stated by an early and competent authority, Xenophanes of Colophon, born before the usurpation of Peisistratus, and therefore trained in Ionia in the version there current before any recension of Peisistratus was possible. He regarded the knowledge of Homer as universal (Frag. 18, Hiller-Crusius): *ἔξ ἀρχῆς καθ' Ομηρον, ἐπεὶ μεμαθήκασι πάντες.* The perfect of the verb shows that he regarded Homer as the basis of education and not something now learned for the first time. Of similar purport are the words of Hiero to this same Xenophanes: "You complain that you can with difficulty support two servants, yet Homer whom you revile though he is dead supports ten thousand" (Plutarch, quoted by Sengebusch, *Hom. Dis.*, I, 131). Even though this may never have been said by Hiero, it gives some indication of the enormous number supposed to be interested in the preservation and conservation of Homeric poetry. Even Xerxes is said to have tarried on his march to do reverence to the gods of Ilium, a striking proof of the conception of Homeric extension and influence in the time of Herodotus (Her. vii. 42). Homer was regarded as something more than a poet, since Herodotus (ii. 53) assigns to him and Hesiod the formation of Greek theology.

The entire Greek world at this time, the end of the sixth century, regarded Homer as its teacher and prophet. Was that world likely to exchange the Homer it knew for a new and interpolated Homer? The Greeks were always a conservative people, tenacious of old customs and old institutions, so that epic poetry continued to be written in the Homeric dialect; Tyrtaeus could compose his anapests in the native dialect of Sparta, but his elegiac dactyls must show their Ionic origin; and even an Athenian poet when composing for an Athenian audience must give a foreign color to his choral lyrics, since they must show their foreign origin; the persistent conservatism of the Athenians, despite the ruin and fire brought by the Persians, repeatedly hampered Pericles' plans for beautifying the Acropolis. This conservatism still survives, and modern Athens has seen many bitter struggles because of it. In November, 1901, the publication of

a revised text of the Bible led to a bloody riot in which eight persons were slain, the ministry overthrown, and the Metropolitan forced to flee. In 1903 a similar, but bloodless, riot followed an attempt to produce in the theater a play of Aeschylus partially adapted to the popular speech.¹ In view of this Hellenic trait it seems incredible that Homeric bards and scholars should have thrown over the Homer they had known from infancy and have accepted without a murmur the interpolations of a state so obscure intellectually and politically as Athens was at the end of the sixth century. No trace of any such struggle has survived.

Improbable as the theory is in the light of the sixth century, the history of the Homeric poems in the next century makes it impossible.

There are no traces of any close connection between Athens and Homer during the sixth century, except the recitation of his poems at the Panathenaic festival. Athens had no part and claimed no part in the history of the Homeric poems during the fifth century; Aeschylus, Plato, and the orators might acknowledge their own and their countrymen's obligations to him, but no one of them, even when praising Athens the most, ever laid any claim to his interpretation or preservation.

The center of Homeric influence remained in Ionia in the fifth century, just as it had been in Ionia in the sixth. Xenophanes from Colophon, Pythagoras from Samos, and their schools kept up the Homeric spirit or criticism in Italy; Stesander from Samos was the first to sing at Delphi the battles of Homer (*Athen. 638a*). Cynaethus is said to have gone from Chios to teach Homer in Sicily in the last Olympiad of the sixth century. From the Ionic colony of Abdera came Democritus, who wrote a work on Homeric diction and vocabulary, as well as Protagoras, whose criticism of the use of the imperative in the opening of the *Iliad* is well known, and Hecataeus, not the logographer, who according to Suidas wrote a work in which he compared the poetry of Homer and Hesiod. It is interesting to note how the love for Homer perpetuated itself in this Ionic colony. The case of Abdera was typical.

Early in the fifth century it was a popular thing to criticize the teachings of Homer, as is shown in the case of Xenophanes, Pythag-

¹ See Drerup, "Das Ende des Sprachkampfes," *DLZ*, April 15, 1911.

oras, and Heraclitus, all Ionians. Later an attempt was made to defend Homer from the charge of impiety by showing that he intended to write an allegory of nature; this attempt is associated with the names of Anaxagoras of Clazomenae, Metrodorus of Lampsacus, and Stesimbrotos of Thasos. No Athenian is in this group.

The knowledge of Homer in an age before a reading public was possible must have largely been carried from place to place by reciters or rhapsodes, and if an Athenian version of the sixth century was to take the place of an earlier version it must have been carried to popular favor by rhapsodes from Athens. There seem to have been few or no such Athenian rhapsodes. The classical description of these wandering Homeric evangelists is given by Plato in the *Ion*, and we find that even in Athens this reciter is from Ephesus, and those especially praised for their appreciation and interpretation of Homer are Metrodorus of Lampsacus, Stesimbrotos from Thasos, and Glaucon, who seems to have been from Rhegium. Ion has just come from a contest at Epidaurus; he disclaims the ability to recite any other poet than Homer, and to Homer he has devoted his life with passionate enthusiasm. This theory, which to Cauer seems so reasonable, demands that this Ionian bard should come to Athens, exchange his old Homer for the new, and yet take it so naturally that neither he nor Socrates ever mentioned the matter.

The only reason for the fact that no reliable writer ever refers to an Athenian when naming those who made themselves famous in connection with the poetry of Homer is found in the assumption that Athens lay outside of the current of Homeric poetry and that she had no part in the creation, preservation, or transmission of Homer. It follows from the above that Zenodotus, Aristophanes, and Aristarchus never refer to Peisistratus in connection with Homer, and also that they make no mention of an Athenian manuscript of Homer. The case of Abdera shows how the study of Homer perpetuated itself from generation to generation, and, reversely, the absence of such study from Athens explains why no one of the great Homeric editors of Alexander or Pergamon was an Athenian. Zenodotus was from Ephesus, Aristophanes from Byzantium, and Aristarchus from Samian Samo-Thrace, while, in the rival school of Pergamon, Crates was from Mallus in Cilicia, Zenodotus was also from Mallus, and

Demetrius Ixion was from Mysia. If Athens were indeed the center and fount of Homeric poetry (and Professor Murray in his *Rise of the Greek Epic*, 295 ff., heads his pages with the words "The Gift of Athens"), it is most strange that no one of those who rose to eminence because of investigations in Homer should have been bred and reared in the atmosphere in which Homer was produced. Not only were none of the great Homeric scholars of Alexandria from Athens, but they never refer to an Athenian manuscript of Homer. Seven state manuscripts are mentioned as used by the Alexandrians, Αἰολική, Ἀργολική, Κρητική, Κυπρία, Μασσαλιωτική, Σινωπική, Χία. An edition by Antimachus of Colophon is frequently quoted. Of the state manuscripts those most quoted are, in the order of the frequency with which they are quoted by name, η Μασσαλιωτική, η Χία, η Ἀργολική, η Σινωπική. The Argives, because of their prominence in the *Iliad*, would be certain to preserve with great fidelity the text of the poem. Chios as the home of the Homeridae and a strong claimant for the birthplace of the poet would be most tenacious of early traditions and would also be certain to preserve an early text of the poems. The reason for the interest in Homer at Sinope is more hidden. Sinope was early the home of settlers from Miletus, and when Sinope was almost abandoned it was again peopled by new arrivals from that same Ionian Miletus. The second founding of Miletus was a little before the last quarter of the seventh century (cf. Robinson, "Ancient Sinope," *AJP*, XXVII, 148 ff.). Miletus in that century was a leading center of Homeric and epic influence, the home of Arctinus, who was the assumed author of the *Iliupersis* and the *Aethiopis*, also the home of the poet Melisander, who on the basis of *Iliad* i. 268 and *Odyssey* xxi. 295 wrote a poem on the battles of the Centaurs and the Lapithae. Sengebusch, *Introduction to the Odyssey*, 55, says: "Miletum, caput totius Ioniae, insignem Homericæ poeseos fuisse sedem," etc. It seems most reasonable to suppose that the love for Homer which is shown by the very existence of this Homeric manuscript goes directly back to the mother city, Miletus. Sinope, though far-removed, was not outside the currents of Greek influence.

The manuscript most quoted was from Marseilles, η Μασσαλιωτική. The story of the founding of that city by Ionians who left their

native Phocaea in the sixth century rather than submit to the yoke of Persia is too familiar to repeat here. Phocaea like Miletus was a great and important center of Homeric learning and Homeric traditions. Homer is said to have lived in Phocaea with Thestorides, to whom he gave some of his poetry in return for food and support (*Vita Her.* xvi). It was from this Homeric center, so full of traditions, that the exiles started who founded in the far west the colony of Massilia. They were no more likely to find themselves bereft of their favorite poet in their new home than the Pilgrims of the May-flower were likely to find they had no Bible. Their fellow-Phocaeans who settled in adjacent Corsica were soon destroyed by the combined Tyrrhenian and Carthaginian forces, while those who found their way to the coasts of Spain returned to Ionia to carry on the unequal struggle against the Persians (*Her.* i. 162 ff.). Massilia was thus separated from Greece and Greek influences not only by enormous distances but also by hostile and alien nations. It may be possible to account for a Homeric manuscript in Sinope by the influence of the Athenian settlers who came to Sinope in the second half of the fifth century, but how account for an Athenian Homer in Massilia? The number of Athenians who found their way to that distant region must have been very small, and Homer was not the poet whom that small number would have brought. It was the knowledge of Euripides that rescued the Athenian prisoners from confinement in Syracuse (*Plut. Nicias* xxix), and it was the poetry of Euripides which saved the city of Athens from destruction at the hands of Lysander (*Plut. Lysander* xv), and the people of Caunus opened their harbor to an Athenian ship pursued by pirates in order that they might hear them repeat the verses of this same Euripides (*Nicias* xxix). Now Caunus was neighbor to those regions which sent forces to the Trojan war and should have been eager to hear the verses of Homer, if Homer were indeed "The Gift of Athens." This is confusing, but it is even harder to understand why a Spartan spared Athens for the sake of Euripides, a bitter foe of Sparta, and ignored her greater service in giving Homer to the world, a poet who gave eternal glory to Sparta. It is also confusing to remember that, while the Athenians might recite Euripides abroad, Ionian bards recited Homer in the streets of Athens.

It is hard to believe that Athenian influences carried Homer to Marseilles, or had power enough to induce its citizens to substitute an Athenian version for the Homer their fathers brought from Ionia in the sixth century. Every rule of logic compels the conclusion that here we have the Homer current in Ionia before the middle of the sixth century. Abdera with its enthusiasm for Homer was peopled from Teos about 550, Sinope somewhat earlier from Miletus. The Aeolic manuscript, no doubt, preserved the traditions used by Terpander in the seventh century, and Terpander was of Ionian ancestry, as well as a neighbor to Ionia; the Argolic manuscript may represent the Homer recited in Sicyon early in the sixth century whose praises of the Argives so aroused the envy of the tyrant, Cleisthenes (Her. v. 67). Xenophanes left Colophon, Pythagoras left Samos, and Cynaethus left Chios in that same century. All the lines of Homeric diffusion and study converge in Ionia; the latest possible limit for this diffusion is fixed by the capture of Phocaea, which closely fits the Teian settlement of Abdera. However, the settlement of Sinope, the time of Terpander, and the general knowledge of Homer as shown by the writings of Xenophanes, and the poetry of Archilochus and Aleman argue for an earlier date, hence the end of the eighth century is the latest probable date for the expansion of Homeric knowledge from its center in Ionia. No other place and no later date can satisfy all the divergent conditions. This explains the silence of the Alexandrian editors in regard to Athenian manuscripts of Homer; for there must have been a good text of Homer current in Athens, as is shown by the quotations in Plato. The Alexandrians in their disregard for this Athenian text of Homer followed the two main principles of the best textual criticism, as these principles are given by Birt, *Kritik und Hermeneutik*, 16:

Erster Grundsatz: Ist eine Handschrift aus einer andern, die wir noch haben, kopiert, so ist nur diese zu benutzen; denn was jene etwa Eigentümliches darbietet, kann nur auf Willkür und Konjektur beruhen.

Zweiter Grundsatz: Man bevorzuge die älteren Hss. vor den jüngeren. Es wäre ein Unsinn Vergil nach Hss. des 9-12 Jahrhunderts zu drucken, da wir die des 5. besitzen.

It was thus in strict accord with the best modern ideals that the Alexandrians ignored the later Athenian versions and manuscripts

and followed the older Homer as preserved in such widely scattered regions as Chios, Argos, Sinope, and Massilia. The assumption is calmly made by the adherents of the Peisistratean recension that his work was so freely conceded and the Athenian version so fully established that no one would think of mentioning it: "Wenn unsere Scholien von der peisistratischen Redaktion schweigen, dies nur den Grund haben kann, weil sie davon als selbstverständlich, bei ihrer ganzen Kritik ausgingen" (Erhardt, *Entstehung der Hom. Gedichte*, p. exiii). One thing is surely to be conceded, and that is that Athens must have possessed the manuscripts of the great Athenian dramatists; yet this is not taken for granted but we are minutely informed of the means by which these manuscripts came into the possession of the Alexandrians. Why the remarkable reticence in regard to Homer?

CONCLUSIONS

At the end of the sixth century Homer was so well known to all Greeks that their conservatism would never have meekly permitted them to accept a new and altered version; moreover, all the streams of Homeric poetry flowed from Ionia, while Athens had no influence sufficient to change the current, until changes were impossible. No Athenian of the classical period ever claimed for his country any part in the transmission or shaping of Homeric poetry, and no Greek before the Christian era gives any praise to Athens for anything done in regard to improving or preserving the works of Homer. The mythology and traditions of these poems differ so widely in minute details from those current in Athens that they preclude the possibility of an Athenian version made to gratify Athens. The verse which is most confidently placed to the credit of Athenian interest is B 558, where it is said that Ajax took his stand next to the Athenians, while in its place the partisans of Megara quoted the presumed original in which Ajax is said to be allied with the men from Megara. When the Athenians enter battle in the fourth book of the *Iliad*, Odysseus is with their leader Mnestheus, Antiphus later hurls at Ajax and misses him, but strikes a companion of Odysseus (iv. 489). The fact that a shot directed at Ajax strikes a companion of

Odysseus, who has just entered with the Athenians, shows that Ajax was not with the Megarians, but with the Athenians. This hidden and subtle connection between Ajax and the Athenian proves that the verse urged as the original by the Megarians is spurious, and the assumed Athenian interpolation is no interpolation but a part of the original conception of the poem. I wish some defender of the Peisistratus theory would answer this argument, which is based on the evidence that a shot aimed at Ajax struck a companion of a man who was near the Athenians.

How did the tradition in regard to Peisistratus arise? Athens in common with other Greek states had public recitations of Homeric poetry, and somehow a regulation came into force forbidding the reciter to cull out the parts which would win him the greatest favor and commanding each reciter to follow the order of the poems; that is, a bard could not recite Z and then take up the emotional scenes of X. This must have become a necessary regulation, as the so-called *Certamen* between Hesiod and Homer shows. In this *Certamen* each reciter selected from any part of the poems those verses or scenes which seemed most likely to win approval.

That such a necessary provision in regard to the recitations at the Panathenaea was made seems certain, but who made it is a matter of dispute; the Platonic *Hipparchus* (228 B) assigns it to the son of Peisistratus, Hipparchus; while Diogenes Laertius (*Life of Solon*) assigns it to Solon. Neither of these would fit the purposes of Megarian patriotism, if Salamis was lost to them because of Peisistratus, and as Peisistratus was closely connected with the Panathenaea his influence there was so magnified that he was assumed to have such control over Homer as to give him power to change a verse at will; further, in accusing Peisistratus of tampering with the original they but charged him with repeating the very thing they had themselves done, for they had forged a verse to show a connection between Megara and Ajax. Their verse is a manifest imposture, since Δ 489, M 339, N 285, and O 334 show that Ajax was in closest touch with the Athenians. The charge of the Megarians that a single verse was decisive, and that, too, a forged verse, was not refuted, since Homer repeatedly answered it. Wolf with his

"vox totius antiquitatis" was a true Megarian and doubled the original imposture.

Athens had a private regulation in regard to the public recitation of Homeric poetry at the Panathenaic festival, but she lay outside the influences which created and preserved the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

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XΜΓ, A SYMBOL OF CHRIST

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The letters XΜΓ have been the subject of much discussion since, in the year 1870, Waddington¹ and De Rossi² published their interpretations, X(ριστὸς) (δ) (ἐκ) M(αρίας) γ(εννθεῖς), and X(ριστὸς), M(ιχαήλ), Γ(αβριήλ). M. de Vogué,³ Bayet,⁴ Le Blant,⁵ Renan,⁶ Mordtmann,⁷ Stern,⁸ Wessely,⁹ J. Krall,¹⁰ Hicks,¹¹ Crostarosa,¹² Grenfell,¹³ Th. Reinach,¹⁴ Perdrizet,¹⁵ Chapot,¹⁶ Lefebvre,¹⁷ Nestle,¹⁸ Lucas,¹⁹ A. Dieterich,²⁰ Smirnoff,²¹ Lietzmann,²² Leclercq,²³ Jalabert,²⁴ Baum-

¹ *Inscr. grec. et lat. de la Syrie* = Le Bas-Waddington, *Voyage archéol.*, III, vi, No. 2145.

² *Bullettino di arch. crist.* (1870), pp. 7–32, pp. 115–21; (1890), p. 42, n. 2.

³ *Syrie Centrale*, pp. 90 ff. and 108 f.

⁴ *De titulis Atticae christ. antiquiss.* (1878), pp. 48 ff. and p. 87, No. 45; *B.C.H.*, II (1878), pp. 31 f.

⁵ *R. archéol.* XXIII (1872, 1), pp. 126–31.

⁶ *Mission de Phénicie*, pp. 592 and 869.

⁷ *M.A.I.*, VI (1881), p. 126; *A.E.M.O.*, VIII (1884), p. 192.

⁸ *Zeitschr. f. ägypt. Sprache und Altertumskunde*, XXIV (1886), p. 73.

⁹ *Mitteil. a. d. Samml. d. Pap. Rainer*, I (1887), pp. 113–16; *Wiener Studien*, IX (1887), pp. 252 ff.

¹⁰ *Mitteil. Pap. Rainer*, I (1887), p. 127.

¹¹ *Greek Inscript. in the Brit. Mus.*, III, ii (1890), No. 534 and p. 294.

¹² *Nuovo Bullettino di archeol. crist.* (1896), pp. 55 and 79 ff.

¹³ *Greek Papyri*, II (1897), p. 151, note 25, and p. 167.

¹⁴ *Byz. Zeitschr.*, IX (1900), pp. 59–61.

¹⁵ *Mélanges d'archéol. et d'hist.*, XX (1900), p. 228; *R.E.G.*, XVII (1904), pp. 357–60.

¹⁶ *B.C.H.*, XXVI (1902), pp. 196 f.

¹⁷ *Bull. d. l'Inst. Franç. d'Arch. Orient* (Cairo), III (1903), p. 77; *Bull. d. l. soc. arch. d'Alexandrie*, No. 8 (1905), pp. 12, 14, 15, 19; *Recueil d. inscr. grecques-chrétiennes d'Égypte* (1907), p. xxxii.

¹⁸ *Expository Times*, XV (1904), p. 237; *Byz. Zeitschr.*, XIII (1904), p. 493; *B.P.W.* (1906), Sp. 381–84.

¹⁹ *Byz. Zeitschr.*, XIV (1905), p. 37 (No. 39) and p. 49 (No. 73).

²⁰ *B.P.W.* (1906), Sp. 510.

²¹ *Ibid.*, Sp. 1082–88.

²² *Theol. Literaturzeitung* (1906), Sp. 9.

²³ Article "Abréviations" in *Dictionnaire d'archéol. chrét.*, I, i (1907), col. 180–82; also article "Amphores," I, ii (1907), col. 1890–96, especially col. 1691, n. 11 and col. 1693, n. 4; *R. Bénédicte*, XXII (1905), pp. 439–42.

²⁴ *Mélanges de la Faculté Orient. de Beyrouth*, III, 2 (1909), p. 725, n. 2; V, 1 (1911), pp. xxiv–xxvii.

stark,¹ Scaglia,² Kaufmann,³ Dölger,⁴ Renoir,⁵ and others,⁶ have expressed various opinions. Among these opinions four have met with some approval: (1) that these letters are symbols of Christ, emphasizing his human nature, and sometimes combined with symbols of the Godhead to express the belief that Christ born of Mary was very God;⁷ (2) that these letters express the association of Christ with the archangels Michael and Gabriel;⁸ (3) that these letters represent in the first place the number 643, and then, indirectly, some phrase the sum of the numerical values of the letters of which equals this sum, e.g., Ή ἀγία Τριάς, Θ(εός),⁹ Ἀγειος δ Θεός,¹⁰ Νέος Ἡλιος,¹⁰ Θεός βοηθός;¹⁰ (4) that these letters had all these meanings, and that the more meanings anyone could devise for these symbols the more power the symbols were believed to have.¹¹ The best summaries of the argument for each opinion are given by Dr. Fr. J. Dölger in his valuable book: ΙΧΘΥC, *Das Fischsymbol in frühchristlicher Zeit*, I. Band, "Religionsgeschichtliche und epigraphische Untersuchungen" (Rom, 1910), pp. 300–317; by P. Louis Jalabert, S.J., in his admirable review of Dölger's book, in *Mélanges d. l. Fac. Or. de Beyrouth*, V, i (1911), pp. xxiv–xxvii, and by P. H. Leclercq, in *Dictionnaire d'archéol. chrétienne et de liturgie*, edited by R. P. dom Fernand Cabrol, I (1907), col. 180–82 and 1690–96. P. Leclercq, in his article "Abréviations," col. 180–82, adopted the interpretation of De Rossi; in his article "Amphores," col. 1691 ff., however, he retracted this view, and accepted that of Grenfell: X(ριστὸν) M(αρία) γ(εννῆ). P. Jalabert, in *Mélanges* (1909), p. 725, n. 2, approved Perdrizet's conclusion in these words:¹² "M. Perdrizet a exprimé la note juste en écrivant à propos des multiples explications données de cet

¹ *Oriens Christianus*, 1905 (appeared 1909), p. 404.

² *Notiones archaeologiae christ.*, etc. (1909), p. 55 n. 2.

³ *Ikonographie der Menasampullen* (1910), p. 158.

⁴ ΙΧΘΥC, *Das Fischsymbol*, etc. (1910), pp. 300–317.

⁵ Article "Chiffre de la bête," in *Dict. d'arch. chrét.*, III (1912), col. 1344 f.

⁶ Other references are given by Dölger, Leclercq, etc. See also my own publication, *Am. Arch. Exped. to Syria in 1899–1900*, III (1908), pp. 23 f., and p. 156 (No. 155). In the list given above I have not been able to consult the works referred to on p. 410, notes 4 (1), 9 (1), 10, 17 (1) and (2), and p. 411, notes 1, 2, 3.

⁷ Waddington, Grenfell, Leclercq, etc.

⁸ De Rossi, Nestle, Dölger, etc.

J. Krall.

¹⁰ Smirnoff.

¹¹ Perdrizet, Jalabert, etc.

¹² R.E.G., XVII (1904), p. 359 and 360.

énigmatique ΧΜΓ: 'Je croirais volontiers qu'il n'en faut rejeter aucune. . . . Cette solution me paraît vraie justement parce qu'elle n'est pas simple.'" Dölger sums up his opinion as follows:¹ "Vielleicht ist die Lösung Χριστὲ Μιχαὴλ Γαβριῆλ in den meisten Fällen die richtige, wenn auch nicht gerade die einzige." Jalabert, in his review of Dölger,² agrees with him that Χριστὲ Μιχαὴλ Γαβριῆλ may be correct in a large number of cases, but is unwilling to affirm this of the majority. For my own part I still believe that, in the Syrian inscriptions at least, these letters symbolized Christ alone.

It is strange that, with the best intentions, different persons can draw opposite conclusions from the same evidence. To me it seems clear that the tile-stamps found at Rome,³ containing a name in the genitive, the letters ΧΜΓ, and in the center *, have no bearing on this controversy: the name is that of the owner of the stamp, the manufacturer, and has no connection with the symbols. Nor is there any evidence in the inscription from Deir-Salibé, published by M. Chapot in *B.C.H.*, XXVI (1902), pp. 196 f.: Χ(ριστὸς) Μ(ιχαὴλ) Γ(αβριῆλ) μηησθῶσιν Εὐφρόνιος Μηνᾶς Βερυκκανὸς τεχνῖται, κτλ. Chapot's explanation: "Au début la formule Χριστὸς Μιχαὴλ Γαβριῆλ suivie du verbe μηησθῶσιν pour invoquer le souvenir et appeler la protection de Dieu et des anges," is certainly wrong; the verb is passive here, and its subjects are the names which follow.⁴ Nor is there any force in Dölger's argument⁵ from the letters ΘΥΜΓ, supposed to be contained in the inscription found by me at Shnân.⁶ The Θ was never more than an emendation suggested in my first publication as possible. But it is not possible. This group of letters occurs eight times in this inscription, and my copy represents them as certain in every case: they represent the number 2443, whatever significance they may have besides. Dölger, furthermore,

¹ *Das Fischsymbol*, I (1910), p. 312.

² *Mélanges* (1911), p. xxv.

³ Published by De Rossi and Crostarossa, *loc. cit.*: see also Nestle and Smirnoff, *loc. cit.*

⁴ See *Publications of the Princeton Univ. Arch. Exped. to Syria in 1904-5*, III, No. 1203.

⁵ *Das Fischsymbol*, I, p. 312.

⁶ Published by me in *Transactions Am. Philol. Ass.*, XXXIII (1902), pp. 95 f. and *Am. Arch. Exped. to Syria*, III, No. 254.

is of the opinion that ΧΕΓΜ¹ is irreconcilable with Χριστὸς Μαρίας γέννα, and †ΜΓΑ² with Χριστὸς ὁ ἐκ Μαρίας, but that both are explained by Χριστὲ Μιχαὴλ Γαβρὶήλ. As to the former, Χριστὸς Μαρίας γέννα, Χριστοῦ Μαρία γέννα, and Χριστὸν Μαρία γεννᾷ, if correct, appear to be Egyptian versions of the formula, while the ΧΕΓΜ was found in Syria: I see no reason against reading Χ(ριστ)ὲ, γ(εννθεις) ἐκ Μαρίας, or Χ(ριστ)ὲ, γέννα Μαρίας, if this is not really for Χ(ριστός), Ἐ(μμανουήλ), γ(εννθεις) (ἐκ) Μ(αρίας). As for the latter, I think that †ΜΓΑ positively disproves Dölger's reading. The Α is not united with the Γ in a ligature, but is above it, and nearly as large as the other letters. Moreover, the four signs are arranged in a fairly symmetrical group, and in such a way that no one of them has apparently less importance than the others. It seems to me impossible that Χριστός was represented by †, Μιχαὴλ by Μ, but Γαβρὶήλ by ΓΑ. Moreover, several explanations of the Α as an independent sign suggest themselves. It may be merely the number assigned to this jar. Or, since the Μ is so formed as possibly to serve also as ω, perhaps †ΜΓ, ωΑ was intended, as in *A.A.E.S.*, III, 215 and 311.

The most important consideration of all is that in which De Rossi's explanation had its origin and with which Dölger's discussion concludes, that Christ, or Jesus with Mary, appears often in Byzantine monuments accompanied by the two archangels Michael and Gabriel, sometimes with the names inscribed. In the early theological literature also Christ is sometimes associated with Michael and Gabriel. And finally, in inscriptions not connected with works of art, the names of Christ appear with the names of some of the archangels, as well as with the names and symbols of God.³ The presence of Christ with Michael and Gabriel in Byzantine art is explained, to my mind, by the desire of the artists for a symmetrical group. The same explanation applies also to the presence of these three names on certain Byzantine crosses. The occasional association of Christ with Michael and Gabriel in early Christian literature may be due in part to the influence of representations in art

¹ *Pal. Expl. Fund., Quart. Statement*, 1895, p. 51, No. 26.

² *C.I.L.*, XV, ii, p. 697, No. 4888.

³ *Das Fischsymbol*, I, pp. 313 ff.; see also p. 300.

such as those just mentioned. But doubtless, as Dölger suggests, it was due chiefly to the Jewish tradition that the three persons who appeared to Abraham were Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael, an identification which was accepted by Christian writers with the substitution of Christ for Raphael. I do not consider that either Byzantine art, or the early Christian literature, furnishes conclusive evidence as to the meaning of the symbols ΧΜΓ. The testimony of the inscriptions is different. Dölger has collected the following in support of his opinion:

1. + Ἐμανουὴλ, | μεθ' ἡμῶν | δὲ Θεός. ΧΜΓ +¹
2. + Ὁ ἄγιος Μιχαὴλ (καὶ) Γαβριὴλ. + Ἐκτίσθη κτλ.²
3. Μιχαὴλ, Γαβριὴλ.³
4. ΓΑΒ ΡΙΗΛ.⁴
5. ΡΑΦΑΗΛ | ΡΕΝΕΑ | ΟΥΡΙΗΛ | ΙΧΘΥC | ΜΙΧΑΗΛ | ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ | ΑΖΗΗΑ.⁵
6. ΕΙC ΘΕΟC | O ΝΙΚΩN ΤA ΚΑKA | IAWS CABAWS | ON COLO-
MWN | MΙΧΑΗLA ΓΑΒΡΙΗLA ΦΥΛΑΖΩN.⁶
7. <O> πατήρ, <δ> νιός, τὸ πν(εῦμα)τα τ<δ> ἄγιον· ἄγιε Μ(i)χαὴλ,
ἄγιε Γαβριὴλ, ἄπα Ιερεμίας, ἄπα Ἐνώχ, ἄγια Μαρία, ἄμα Σιβ*ū*λλα
κτλ.⁷
8. ΚΥΡΙΕ ΒΟΗΘΙ ΑΑΑΑΑ | ΜΙΧΑΗΛ Ε ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ | ΙΣΤΡΑΗΑ
ΡΑΦΑΗΛ.⁸
9. + + + "Ἄγιος δὲ Θεός <Γ>αβριὴλ Μ<i>χαὴλ . . . κύριε δὲ Θεός
. . . κύριε κύριε κύριε δὲ Θεός Θεός Θεός . . . <Ιη>σοῦς
Χρ<i>στός κτλ.⁹

I think Dölger should have added to this list the following also:

¹ *Byz. Zeit.* (1905), p. 37, No. 39.

² Dussaud et Macler, *Voyage au Sāfā* (1901), p. 206, No. 99.

³ A.A.E.S., III, No. 5.

⁴ *Das Fischsymbol*, p. 276: on a gem.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 274: on a gem.

⁶ Dalton, *Catalogue of Early Christian Antiquities . . . in the Brit. Mus.* (1901), p. 112, No. 555: on an amulet.

⁷ Leclercq, in *Dict. d'archéol. chrét.*, I, 2, p. 2150: an epitaph in Egypt.

⁸ Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, p. 541, No. 404.

⁹ A *tabella devotionis*; *Bulletin d. l'Inst. franç. d'Arch. Orient.* VI (1908), "Le Caire," pp. 61-63; Dölger, p. 317.

10. Ούρι[η]λ Γαβριήλ Ραφαήλ Μιχαήλ.¹
 11. ΙC XC MP ΘΥ MX ΓB²

These inscriptions seem to me to prove quite the opposite of Dölger's conclusion. In them, twice, two archangels, Michael and Gabriel, are mentioned without a name of Christ; once one archangel, with the *; once ΙΧΘΥC with six archangels; once Κύριε βοήθει, etc., with four archangels. Where Michael and Gabriel, but no other archangel, are mentioned, there other names besides those of Christ appear. In no single instance do Christ, Michael, and Gabriel—just these three alone—appear.³ I do not believe, therefore, that the names of this triad—just these three alone—were in such general use that the stereotyped ΧΜΓ was the equivalent for them.

For me the inscription on the rock-hewn tomb at Häss is still decisive:⁴ Εἰς Θεὸς ΧΜΓ μόνος. I believe that the correct interpretation of the three letters was furnished by Waddington from the inscription at Refádeh:⁵ + Ἰησοῦς δὲ Ναζωρέως, δὲ ἐκ Μαρίας γενεθῆς, δὲ Τιμοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, κτλ. Dölger explains⁶ that in the Häss inscription the letters ΧΜΓ, having become merely a symbol, disturbed the sense as little as a cross or †, which is found sometimes in the middle of a word. I do not think that this inscription can thus be explained away. I believe that it was intended as an expression of the belief of the owner of this tomb that Christ born of Mary is truly God. Just so on the lintel at Ma'sarān⁷ containing the following letters and symbols: Θ, a disk with †, ΧΜΓ, a disk with †,

¹ On four sides of a tower, together with other inscriptions, including Εμμανουὴλ; Wad. 2068 = P.A.E.S., III, 245–55.

² On a gold cross from Constantinople, in the Vatican (De Rossi, *Bull.* [1870], p. 25).

³ The nearest approach to a simple triad is in No. 11 of the list: concerning this see what I have said above about Byzantine crosses. The inscription from Attica, published by Bayet in *B.C.H.*, II (1878), pp. 31 f., is cited by Chapot in *B.C.H.*, XXVI (1902), pp. 196 f., n. 1 as containing the formula Χριστὸς Μιχαὴλ Γαβριὴλ in full; but only the letters ΧΜΓ appear in the drawing which faces p. 31 of Bayet's article, and obviously the brackets were omitted from Bayet's text by mistake.

⁴ Wad. 2660; A.A.E.S., III, No. 155; dated 378 A.D.

⁵ Wad. 2697 = P.A.E.S., III, No. 1151.

⁶ *Das Fischsymbol*, p. 316.

⁷ P.A.E.S., III, No. 1147.

a palm-branch, and Κ, for which I would read: Θ(εός), ΧΜΓ, Κ(ίριος). Besides these there are a number of Syrian inscriptions containing the disputed letters, where the whole inscription may, I think must, be read as a continuous text, referring exclusively to Christ. Such are, for example,

1. *A.A.E.S.*, III, 215: (Α) + Ζ ΧΜΓ | ΙΧΘΥC
2. *A.A.E.S.*, 216: [Χ]ΜΓ Ἐν ἀνόματω Χρυστοῦ.
3. *A.A.E.S.*, 219: Ἐμμανουὴλ, ΧΜΓ Χριστὸς νικᾶ.
4. *A.A.E.S.*, 224: + ΧΜΓ + ΑΖ Ἰη(σοῦ)ς βοήθι. +
5. *A.A.E.S.*, 234: ΧΜΓ Χ(ριστοῦ)ν τὸ νῖκος· φεῦγε Σατανᾶ.
6. *P.A.E.S.*, III, B, 969: ΧΜΓ)

 Θ ΙΧΘΥC ΑΚΟΗ Κύ(ριε) β(οήθει) τ(ῷ) δ(οὺλῳ) (σου) Παν(λῷ).

I believe, therefore, that, at least in the Syrian inscriptions, the letters ΧΜΓ are a symbol for Christ alone, and that Χριστὸς ὁ ἐκ Μαρίας γεννηθεὶς, Χριστὸς Μαρίας γέννα, Χριστοῦ Μαρία γέννα, and Χριστὸν Μαρία γεννᾷ are but different versions of the same formula.¹

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¹ There remain two inscriptions which, if their meaning were clear, might throw much light on this question. One is that published in *P.A.E.S.*, III, No. 913, my interpretation of which now seems to me as "audacious" as it seemed to P. Jalabert. The other was published by De Rossi in *Bull. di arch. crist.* (1882), p. 54: ΥCΧΘΥCΜΕΓX.

NOTES ON ATTIC INSCRIPTIONS

BY ALLAN CHESTER JOHNSON

In the new edition of the Attic Inscriptions¹ the documents are grouped in divisions, and in chronological order within each division as far as possible. In Division 1, Kirchner has placed the inscriptions which date between 403 and 378 B.C. When the archon's name is lacking, the historical content of the document is the chief factor in determining the date. When we have neither archon nor history as guide, the forms of the letters become the chief basis of dating. The great importance which formulae have in the third century in dating inscriptions is universally acknowledged. The neglect of these for the first period has led to much confusion in the arrangement of the various documents, and the history of the financial boards which are called upon to defray the cost of recording the decree on stone becomes strangely involved. Apparently the *ταμίαι, ἀποδέκται, ταμίας τῆς βολῆς, ταμίας τὸ δῆμο* and *ταμίαι τῶν τῆς θεῶν* are called upon according as the mood of the legislating council or assembly may direct. I am inclined to believe that various boards could not be so ordered within the limits of the same year, but that their activities were confined to different periods. In 405 B.C. the 'Ελληνοταμίαι pay the expenses (Nos. 1, 39), but in 403 B.C. this board is replaced by *οἱ ταμίαι*. I have little doubt that these are the joint stewards of the treasures of Athena and the other gods, for no other board would be referred to as "the stewards." Apparently they took over some of the duties of the Hellenotamiae at the close of the Peloponnesian War. In No. 4 Kirchner has restored *ταμίαι τῆς θεῶν*, but this is manifestly an error because such a board did not exist in 402 B.C.² In Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 51, and 57 these *ταμίαι* pay the costs of the inscription. These must all date before 386 B.C., and probably belong to the first few years of the fourth century,

¹ *Inscriptiones Graecae, Editio Minor, Vols. II and III, Pars I, Fasc. I* (cf. *Class. Phil.*, IX [1914], 455).

² It is quite certain that the joint board existed until 390/389 B.C. (*IG*, II, 660; cf. Ferguson, *Athenian Secretaries*, 72). There is good evidence for believing that they were amalgamated until 387/386 B.C. (cf. Ferguson, *loc. cit.*).

perhaps not later than 394 B.C. At any rate this board was displaced at some time before 387 B.C. by the *ταμίας τὸ δῆμο*. In No. 56 this steward pays the secretary of the people thirty drachmas for a decree to be set up ἐν πόλει (cf. No. 53). If No. 21 is correctly dated we hear for the first time of a fund provided for inscriptions [*ἐκ τῶν κατὰ ψηφίσματ' ἀναλισκομένων*]. This is the only appearance of this formula before 368 B.C. (No. 106), and it is possible that the document may belong to the later period.

Just before 387/386 B.C. the *ταμίας τὸ δῆμο* is apparently supplanted by a *ταμίας τῆς βολῆς* (No. 24). This is the only example of the single steward of the council. Ca. 358 there are two or more of these stewards who pay for the inventory list (No. 120), and in 343/342 B.C. there are two *ταμίαι τῆς βολῆς* who pay for certain expenses out of a fund which the council has for inscriptions. Since there is only one steward in No. 24, and as the inscriptions almost invariably write δὲ γραμματεὺς τῆς βολῆς,¹ I think the stonemason has made a mistake, and instead of writing τῷ γραμματεῖ τὸν ταμίαν τῆς βολῆς, he should have written τῷ γραμματεῖ τῆς βολῆς τὸν ταμίαν. I therefore infer that the paymaster in No. 24 is δὲ ταμίας τὸ δῆμο. This officer began his duties as paymaster for the recording of inscriptions perhaps ca. 394 B.C., possibly with a change of government at the beginning of the Corinthian war, and he continued in this office until ca. 386 B.C. Those inscriptions which belong to this period are Nos. 21 (though this may belong to ca. 376 B.C.), 24, 25, 33 (but see below, p. 419, for the probable date of this inscription), 53, 56.

In 386 B.C. the *ἀποδέκται* make the appropriation direct to the secretary of the council for the cost of the decree (No. 31). No. 29 probably belongs to the same year. Evidence for the reorganization of the financial system is found in the board of *ταμίαι τῶν τῆς θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν*, which was broken up into separate boards as at the first. We must assume that the whole financial system was overhauled as well, for the *ταμίας τὸ δῆμο* disappears from the records for the next ten years at least. In 385 B.C. our evidence for the

¹ This form is used from 403–376 B.C. in the following: Nos. 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 12, 13, 17, 19, 22, 24, 25, 29, 31, 33, 39, 40, 41, 43, 51–57, 63, 69, 70, 76, 77, 79–81. The only exception is No. 78.

board depends entirely on restoration. In No. 33 Kirchner reads δό[τω δ ταμίας τὸ δῆμο Δ Δ δρα]χμάς. We may also restore δό[ναι τὸς ἀποδέκτας Δ Δ δρα]χμάς. The latter restoration is supported by No. 81, where Kirchner, following Wilhelm, has restored with some hesitation δ[οῦναι τὸν ταμίας εἴκοσι δραχμάς. In this restoration *ov* is written instead of *o*, though not elsewhere used in the inscription, and the double sigma is necessary to preserve the στοιχηδόν arrangement. If, however, we read δ[όναι τὸς ἀποδέκτας] these difficulties are avoided. I am therefore inclined to restore the *apodektai* as paymasters in both Nos. 31 and 81 and assign both inscriptions to the year 385 B.C. The difference between *μερίσαι* and *δοῦναι* implies a difference in procedure only, and since the different forms occur in successive years they cannot be taken to disprove the restorations suggested.

The *ἀποδέκται* were relieved of their duties as paymasters by the *ταμίαι τῶν τῆς θεῶ* at some time between 385 and 379 B.C. The latter board pays the cost out of a fund of ten talents beginning ca. 378 B.C., but before that date the source of the funds is not stated. Perhaps the earliest dateable inscription recording the stewards of Athena as paymasters is No. 245, which Kirchner for some unexplained reason has placed ca. 352–337 B.C., although the lettering and the formulae imply an early date, as he himself says. From the contents of this inscription I should infer that it followed the capture of Thebes by the Spartans, ca. 383/382 B.C., when many from Thebes and Boeotia took refuge in Athens. If so, this inscription contains the last dateable example of *ἐν πόλει* for *ἐν ἀκροπόλει*. Dittenberger has claimed 386 as the lower limit for the old formula, but the number of dateable inscriptions between 390 and 380 B.C. is so small that it is very unsafe to fix any date arbitrarily beyond which we can say absolutely that *ἐν πόλει* must not be used. *ἐν ἀκροπόλει* occurs first in 394 B.C. (No. 19); apparently it gradually supplanted the older phrase, and by 383/382 B.C. the latter was finally discarded. By 383/382 B.C., or possibly in the preceding year, the *ἀποδέκται* were supplanted by the *ταμίαι τῶν τῆς θεῶ*. The latter discharged the duty of paying for the inscriptions until ca. 376 B.C. There is one apparent exception, for Kirchner dates No. 40 in 378/377 B.C., and, if so, the *ἀποδέκται* and the *ταμίαι* share

duties in the same year. Such a division is most unusual and could only be explained by supposing some violent change in political leadership during the year, though the history of the year does not lead us to believe that such was the case. Since Mytilene was apparently in alliance with Athens even after the Peace of Antalcidas (Isocrates xiv. 28; cf. Kirchner, note to No. 40), there is no reason why No. 40¹ should not be dated in the year 387/386 B.C. and contemporary with Nos. 29 and 31. I believe therefore that the *ταμίαι τῆς θεῶν* paid for the decrees from ca. 383 until ca. 376 B.C. without a break. During the years 378-376 there is a fund of ten talents which they draw upon. Nos. 22, 43, 84, 141, 173, and 197 should be dated in these years. There is little doubt that the second decree in No. 22 is later than 390/389 B.C., and the chief argument is that the *ταμίαι τῆς θεῶν* did not exist as a separate body in that year. If No. 173 is dated in the archonship of Charisander we might be able to determine the limits of the board of stewards with some exactness, but Koehler observes that the restoration of lines 8-9 is very doubtful. The termination of the connection of the *ταμίαι τῆς θεῶν* may come ca. 377/376 B.C., when we know that the board was temporarily disgraced (*AJA* [1914], 6 ff.), or with the reorganization of 373/372 B.C. I prefer to accept the earlier date and assume that in 376/375 B.C. some other board or officer, probably the *ταμίαι τοῦ δήμου*, resumed the duty of paying for the inscriptions, and continued to discharge it until the close of the century. The position was apparently a minor one; for the steward is never mentioned by name, and Aristotle does not include him in his description of the financial organization. Apparently he acted only as paymaster and controlled only the appropriations which were yearly made by the apodektai to the assembly to cover its expenses in connection with decrees. Out of this he could be authorized to pay traveling expenses of ambassadors, the cost of the crown, and the cost of the decree. In one case, also, he pays the living expenses of a certain Peisitheides, a drachma a day (No. 222). The cost of sacrifices, boundary stones, etc., in another case (No. 204) is paid out of the inscription fund. Apparently the *ἀποδέκται* made an appropriation to the assembly

¹ It should be observed that the restoration Θη[βαλων] is purely conjectural. It is equally possible to read Θη[παλων] or Θη[ρασιων].

yearly, especially for decrees (*ἐκ τῶν εἰς τὰ κατὰ ψηφίσματα ἀναλισκομένων τῷ δῆμῳ*), and the assembly could apply this fund to any other purpose they so ordered.

The officers or boards which pay for decrees during the fourth century may therefore be assigned to periods approximately as follows: I, 404—ca. 394 B.C., *οἱ ταμίαι* (*τῶν τῆς θεᾶς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν*); II, ca. 394–387 B.C., *δὲ ταμίας τὸ δήμος*; III, 387—ca. 384 B.C., *οἱ ἀποδέκται*; IV, ca. 384–377 B.C., *οἱ ταμίαι τῆς θεᾶς*; V, 377–303 B.C., *δὲ ταμίας τοῦ δήμου*; VI, 303–302 B.C., *δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει*; VII, 302–301 B.C., *δὲ ταμίας τοῦ δήμου*.

I add some notes on those inscriptions which seem to call for comment in the new edition.

No. 4. The restoration in line 4, [*τὸς ταμίας τῆς θεᾶς*], should read simply [*τὸς ταμίας*], unless this document belongs to the years before the amalgamation of the two boards. In that case it should not be published in this volume.

No. 21. Koehler's objections to ca. 389 B.C. as the date of this inscription cannot be lightly disregarded. There is no evidence that Chabrias took part in the expedition of Timotheos ca. 390 B.C., and the formulae used in this decree are found nowhere else before 375 B.C. There is no dateable example of [*ἐκ τῶν κατὰ ψηφίσματα ἀναλισκομένων*] in the first quarter of the century, and the phrase *δῶναι δὲ τὴν ψῆφον τὸς πρυτάνεις τὸς . . . πρυτανεῖοντας* has no warrant before 379 B.C. (No. 103). Since the second decree on fragment *b* in No. 22 unquestionably belongs ca. 378–376 B.C., and deals with the renewal of a treaty of 390/389 B.C., there is no valid objection against dating No. 21 ca. 376 B.C. in accordance with its formulae and assuming that this is a new treaty negotiated by Chabrias in his northern trip (cf. Meyer, *Gesch. des Altertums*, V, 393). If so, we should be compelled to assume that Seuthes was still alive in 376 B.C., though the date of his death is usually given as ca. 383 B.C.; but if Seuthes and Amadokos were contemporary it is not impossible that Kotys received a kingdom before his father's death. At any rate joint kingships were not unknown in Thrace and Macedon.

No. 22. The decree on fragment *b* cannot be contemporary with that on fragment *a*, but must be dated ca. 378–376 B.C., as is shown by the board which pays for the cost of the inscription.

No. 33. Line 2 should be restored as follows: δῶναι τὸς ἀποδέκτας ΔΔ δραχμὰς κτλ. (cf. p. 419).

No. 40. This inscription is probably to be dated shortly before the capture of the Kadmeia by the Spartans ca. 383/382 B.C.

No. 60. In line 9 read [δῶναι μισθὸν δ]μ πράττεται rather than [δωρεὰν η]μ πράττεται. The claimant might wish to exact pay, but not a gift.

No. 79. The formula γνώμην δὲ ξυμβάλλεσθαι is not found before 378 B.C. (cf. No. 44). This decree should be dated in that year or later; if ca. 378/377 B.C. we should restore in line 17 [τὸς ταμίας τῆς θεός] instead of [τὸν ταμίαν].

No. 81. In line 11 read δ[ῶναι τὸς ἀποδέκτα]s instead of δ[οῦναι τὸν ταμία]s; for *ov* is not elsewhere found in the inscription, and the double sigma which had to be used to preserve the στοιχόν arrangement makes the restoration in the text seem rather improbable. The inscription belongs ca. 387–385 B.C.

No. 82. The formulae of this inscription place it without a doubt after 376 B.C. The formula οἱ ἀν λάχωσι προεδρεύειν does not occur before 368/367 B.C. (No. 106).

No. 84. This decree belongs ca. 378–377 B.C., but not before that date. The fund of the ten talents is first drawn upon in 378 B.C.

No. 96. In line 20 read [καὶ τὸς] instead of [τὸς καὶ ἀναγραφησομένος].

No. 106. If we except No. 21 (see note thereto), the first dateable example of the formula indicating a regular fund for defraying the cost of inscriptions is found in this document. This fund was probably established ca. 376 B.C.

No. 120. The ταμίαι τῆς βουλῆς defray the expense of recording the inventory at the *chalkotheke*. This does not mean that the ταμίας τοῦ δήμου is temporarily displaced, but, rather, that the stewards of the council, who also have a fund for decrees at their disposal, probably pay for the cost of inscribing inventories, building accounts, etc. There were at least two of these stewards (cf. No. 223), whereas there is only one for the popular assembly, and we might infer either that their duties were more onerous or that they served as a check on each other. Their duties are never defined.

Possibly they looked after the financial expenses of the *πρυτανεῖς* and the *πρυτανεῖον*.

No. 140. The restoration of line 1 is probably as follows:

ἐπὶ τῆς Πανδι[ονίδος δεκάτης πρ]-
υτανεῖας κτλ.

In the last prytany of the archonship of Thoudemos the presiding officers instruct their successors of the following year to bring in the proper legislation.¹ Apparently the annual elections were not held before the 15th of Skirophorion, otherwise they would have given the new archon's name.

No. 141. From the formula in lines 15–18, this decree belongs to the years 378–377 B.C. There is no objection to this date in the literary evidence in Athenaeus xii. 531.

No. 142. This is a decree which dates in 410/409 B.C., but apparently it was not recorded until some time later, or else it is a later copy.

No. 149. In line 24 Woodward's suggestion of *τῶν ἀδίκων* for *τῶν ἀκίδων* is very plausible.

No. 173. This decree belongs to the years 378–377 B.C. because of the fund of the ten talents.

No. 197. If the restoration of lines 3–4 is correct, this inscription must be dated ca. 384–378 B.C. But since the stewards of Athena never have control of such a fund, it is much more likely that we should restore *δῶν[αι τὸν ταμίαν τὸ δήμῳ]* and date the inscription between 372–360. The traces of letters at the beginning of line 4, 10, favor the restoration [δήμῳ] rather than [θεῷ].

Wilhelm's restoration of No. 211, while attractive, is far from convincing, not only because the *στοιχηδόν* arrangement is so poorly kept, but also for the very sound objection which Wilamowitz has to urge. The frequent use of *o* for *ov* in the inscription would imply an earlier date, but there seems to be a revival of archaisms in the years 349–340 B.C. (cf. Nos. 215, 216, 217, 229).

The restoration of the name of the secretary in Nos. 216, 217 seems good evidence for the date of these inscriptions, but I am

¹ Cf. Ferguson, *Athenian Secretaries*, 20 ff.

inclined to believe that they should be dated in the archonship of Asteios instead of Archias. The formulae of the prescript and the frequent use of *o* for *ov* are characteristic of the earlier period. The chief objection to the late date is the fact that the decree of Androtion seems to be very recent, and we know that his activities were centered about the seventies. It seems to me that these inscriptions deal with the reforms instituted after the burning of the Opisthodomos in 377/376 B.C., and relate to the reorganization of the board of stewards of Athena in the archonship of Asteios (*AJA* [1914], 6 ff.). The decree of Androtion might be remembered after thirty years, but it is very unlikely. The restoration of the secretary's name I should therefore discard. It should be noted that the father's name and deme of the mover of the decree are not given. This alone is strong proof that these documents are earlier than 354/353 B.C.

No. 222. The formula of citizenship adds the words *δωρ οἱ νόμοι λέγουσιν* after *ἡς ἀν βούληται*. This implies a restriction in the freedom of enrolment. The first dateable example of such a restriction occurs in 331/330 B.C. (No. 350). No such clause was added in any dateable inscription before 331 and therefore No. 222 should be placed in or after 331 B.C.

The date of No. 245 is discussed on p. 419.

No. 248. This inscription is earlier than 354 B.C. The deme name of the speaker is omitted. Probably it should be dated in 358/357 B.C.¹

If No. 249 is earlier than 343 B.C., we know from the secretary cycle that it is earlier than 350/349 B.C. Perhaps we may date this inscription in 352 B.C., restoring in line 1 [*ἐπ' Ἀριστοδήμον*]. No argument for date can be based on the formula *τοὺς προέδρους τοὺς λαχόντας κτλ.* This variant is rare, but it does not exclude an earlier date than 350 B.C.

No. 265. This is probably earlier than 354 B.C. The last dateable example of *δεῖνα ἡρχε* is 349/348 B.C. (No. 206), and the deme name of the proposer of the decree is given after 354 B.C.

No. 301. Koehler's restoration *δοῦναι* is to be preferred to *μερίσαι* for line 5. The steward of the assembly does not make appropriations from the funds. The violation of the *στοιχηδόν*

¹ Cf. *ibid.*, 32 and 38.

arrangement may be due to the fact that the mason did not want to break up the combination Δ Δ Δ by putting it on separate lines.

In No. 336, line 33, we have, if the restoration is correct, the first appearance of the thesmothetae in citizenship decrees. In line 20 we should restore [$\hat{\eta}$ s ἀν βούληται εἶναι]. The plural $\omega\nu$ is never found in this phrase, and the consistent use of the feminine singular seems to imply that only the phratry was unlimited in choice. This is, however, answered by No. 109, where we read εἶναι αὐτὸν φυλῆς ἡστίνος ἀν ἀπογράφηται καὶ δήμου καὶ φρατρίας, and hence we infer that the antecedent of the relative is all three nouns taken collectively.

The limitation of the right to hold property does not occur in any dateable decree before 325/324 B.C. (No. 360). The restriction is not found in 330/329 B.C. (No. 351). We may assume therefore that the law which Wilhelm has shown to apply to border demes (No. 373) must have been enacted some time between 329 and 325 B.C., after the law restricting citizenship. In that case Nos. 342 and 343 must be placed after 329 instead of before 332 B.C. No. 425 is probably contemporary.

In No. 350 we have the first dateable example of the restriction in citizenship κατὰ τὸν νόμον (331/330 B.C.). The date of this decree is questioned by Kirchner. The only other possible date is between 318–307 B.C.

No. 366 is a summary of a decree. The deme and father's name of the proposer of the motion are not given. This omission is usual before 354/353 B.C., but not after this date, and therefore this decree probably belongs to the archonship of Kephisodoros in 366/365 B.C.

No. 374. This decree should not be placed in the group dated 336–332 B.C. It belongs to the later period 318–307 B.C.

Nos. 399, 400. I see no reason why these decrees should not be contemporary with No. 713, and dated ca. 288–280 B.C. This will obviate the difficulty about the *συμπρόεδροι*, which has always perplexed the editors of these inscriptions.

No. 422. This formula of land possession dates the inscription after 325 B.C. No. 425 comes in the same period. No. 426 does not contain the restriction and therefore antedates 325 B.C. It is not clear why Kirchner dates it after 336 B.C.

No. 438. This decree is later than 332 B.C., possibly later than 318 B.C. The right of enrolment is limited, but apparently the scrutiny of the gift is not required.

In Division XI we enter the period of the twelve tribes. The exact date of the creation of Antigonis and Demetrias is still undetermined. From Plutarch (*Dem.* 8) we learn that Demetrios sailed into Peiraeus on the 25th of Thargelion in 307, and the democracy was restored. He refused to enter Athens, however, until all the forts held for Cassander were taken. Meanwhile he went to Megara and did not return until the beginning of the archonship of Anaxikrates (*Dion. Hal. Dinarchus* 3). Plutarch describes the extravagant honors paid to Demetrios on his arrival at Athens. From this account we might infer that the new tribes were created at this time, but as a matter of fact they may have been created when the democracy was restored in Thargelion of the preceding year. If not they were created within the first month of 307/306 B.C. I have shown elsewhere (*Class. Phil.*, IX [1914], 255), that the tribe Antigonis held the priesthood of Asklepios in this year, and while the archon year did not coincide with the year of the priests' cycle, which was probably *κατὰ θεόν*, the variation could not have been very great. In that case the priest may have been elected in Hekatombaion in 307/306 B.C., and after the elections for the secretaryship. This might account for the fact that the priests' cycle begins with Antigonis and the secretary-cycle does not.

If we turn to the arrangement of the prytanies for 307/306 B.C. we have a very complicated problem, and it is not helped by any restorations which have hitherto been proposed. Kirchner suggests the following disposition: I, 36; II-V, 30; VI-VII, 29; VIII-IX, 26; X-XI, 39; XII, 40 days. I infer from this that he believes that the new tribes were created at the end of the first prytany or rather at the beginning of the second. But this is based largely on his restoration of Nos. 455 and 456. I suggest the following restoration of No. 455, lines 2-4:

Διομ-

- 3 [εεὺς ἐγραμμάτευε. Μεταγειτνῶν ἐβδόμε]ι ισταμέν-
- 4 [ον, ἐβδόμει τῆς πρυτανείας· ἔκκλησια· τῶν πρ]οέδρων ἐπ-
- 5 [ειψήφισεν κτλ.]

This restoration has the merit of giving a uniform line which neither Larfeld nor Kirchner furnishes; for they are compelled to assume a lacuna of one space in line 4.

In No. 456, lines 3-5, I suggest the following:

- | | |
|---|---|
| 3 | Μαιμακτ[η-] |
| 4 | [ρωῶνος ἔνει καὶ νέαι, ἐβδόμει] καὶ εἰκοστῆι τῆς [προ-] |
| 5 | [ταυεῖας κτλ.] |

Kirchner's restoration involves a crowding of two letters into one space in line 4. The above assumes the regular line of 41 letters, and, other things being equal, the true *στοιχηδὸν* arrangement is always to be preferred. The scheme of the prytanies then is the regular arrangement in the time of the twelve tribes when the first six prytanies have each 30 days. Then the seventh of the second month corresponds with the seventh of the prytany, and the twenty-seventh of the fifth prytany falls on the twenty-ninth of the fifth month (cf. Schmidt, *Handbuch der gr. Chron.*, 773). The last day of the sixth prytany falls on the third of Gamelion.

What happened in the second half of 307/306 B.C. we do not know, but apparently the Athenians or Demetrios decided to intercalate an extra month. Instead of Posideon, Gamelion was inserted. Each prytany would now regularly have 34 days in order to fill out a year in 384 days. Thus the 28th of Gamelion *Ὀστερός* coincides with the 21st of the eighth prytany. The chronology of the next few months we shall probably never understand. At any rate it appears that the eighth and ninth prytanies have only 52 days between them. Whether they each had 26 days, or Antigonis had the full number of 34, and the ninth prytany only 18 days we cannot determine. I favor the latter view; for out of respect to Antigonos, the Athenians probably gave his tribe the usual term. What happened to the ninth prytany is not known, but it is clear that the tenth and eleventh prytanies had 39 and the twelfth 40 days (cf. Nos. 460-62). I therefore assume that the new tribes were created late in 308/307 B.C. or very early in the year of Anaxikrates, in time for the election of the priest of Asklepios, but too late for the secretaryship. Prytanies I-VI had 30 days each; VII-VIII, 34; IX, 18; X-XI, 39; XII, 40. The choice between this scheme and that of Kirchner's

must be decided on the merits of the different restorations for Nos. 455 and 456. The weight of the *στοιχηδόν* arrangement supports the view taken in the text.

No. 488. The college which is praised in this decree may be that in charge of the grain *ἐπὶ τῶν σιτωνικῶν* (cf. No. 499). They are usually known, however, as *σιτῶναι*.

No. 493. In line 28 I prefer *κατὰ τὸ(ν) νόμον*, as the law regarding crowns seems to have been passed *ca. 304/303* B.C. and there is no example of the older formula after that date.

No. 507 should be placed before 500 because it is clear from the content that it antedates the second month in Nikokles' archonship.

No. 511 must be earlier than 331 B.C. when the right of enrolment begins to be limited in the citizenship decrees. Lines 4-5 might be restored as follows:

[τοὺς]

δὲ πρυτά[νεις οἵτινες τὴν πρώτην πρυτα-]
νείαν πρυ[τανεῖονσι δοῦναι περὶ αὐτοῦ]
τὴν ψῆφον [κτλ.]

No. 513. In line 3 we may restore also [θάλλον στεφάνω].

No. 520. In line 8 the restoration *δοῦναι* is better than *μερίσαι*, even though the *στοιχηδόν* arrangement is broken by the use of the former. The steward of the assembly never makes appropriations.

No. 525. In lines 7-8 the restoration *τὸ γενόμενον ἀνάλωμα* is suspicious, as it is never found with the *ταμίας τοῦ δήμου*. Its use here is awkward, and probably some other restoration must be sought.

No. 538. In granting citizenship to this man whose father's name is Demetrios, there is no restriction in enrolment, but the thesmothetae scrutinize the gift. This would date this document *ca. 334-331* B.C.

No. 558. The fund for decrees is gone and the steward is authorized to pay out of the common monies (*ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν χρημάτων*). I suspect that during the "four years' war" the inscription fund was suspended for a time. It was revived again in 302 B.C., only to disappear after 301 B.C. for nearly 70 years with one or two sporadic exceptions.

No. 570. This decree may be dated by its formulae in 294-288 or 279-269 B.C.—possibly as late as 256-232 B.C.

No. 582. The removal of the restriction in regard to possession of property indicates that this document is earlier than 325 or later than 301 b.c.

No. 648. In lines 4-5 we may restore παρὰ τὴν εἰσοδον.

After 294/293 b.c. the secretary-cycle becomes an important factor in determining the dates of the decrees. Kirchner has followed Ferguson in the arrangement of the cycle without change, except in one or two minor points. But the mechanical application of the cycle to the period 294-262 b.c. without regard to the literary evidence is taking far too much for granted, especially in years abounding in political changes and violent party strife. I have set forth elsewhere my reasons for believing that the cycle was not followed from 294-292 b.c. and that a new cycle began in 291 b.c. with a secretary from the first tribe, Antigonis. In conformity with this the dates of all the archons between 294 and 292 b.c. must be changed.¹

No. 649. From the prescript of this decree it is apparent that some attempt was made in 294/293 b.c. to establish a new system of dating somewhat similar to that in 321-319 b.c. The attempt failed and the new formula never reappears.

If the stoichedon arrangement is closely followed, the deme of the secretary must have at least ten letters. Of these the second must be omicron. There are only two demes known to us which can be restored in line 2, and of these one is so obscure that it may be disregarded. We may therefore restore lines 2-3 as follows:

[δώ]ρο[ν τοῦ] Ἐ[π]ιτέλουν [Κ]ονθυλῆθεν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰπποθων-
[τι]δος δεκάτης πρυτανεῖας Μουνιχῶνος κτλ.]

No. 652 is probably contemporary with No. 654, as the formulae of citizenship are identical.

No. 660. The first decree on this stone must antedate 325 b.c., as the possession of land is not limited.

¹ To avoid repetition the reader is referred to the papers discussing the secretary-cycle in the third century which are published in *Class. Phil.*, IX (1914), 248, and *AJP* (1913), 381-417, (1914), 79-80. In the group of archons between 262-229 b.c. some changes should be made in the published list. Hagnias should be dated in or ca. 255/254, Philostratos in 249/248, Lysiares in 248/247, Phanostratos in 247/246, and Antimachos in 246/245 (all this, however, subject to note on No. 775). I am indebted to Professor Ferguson for calling my attention to Kolbe's arguments for the date of Alexandros. The correct date for this archon is ca. 170 b.c.

Nos. 662, 663. These decrees should be dated [*ἐπὶ Διοκλέους ἄρχοντος*] instead of in the archonship of Menekles (cf. *AJA* [1914], 165; *Class. Phil.*, IX [1914], 277). In No. 663, line 37, Kirchner is incorrect in reading *τ[ὸ] ἀνάλωμα*. There is no trace of any letter after *διοικήσει*.

No. 664. Lines 4–5 may be restored in two ways, (1):

Σκιροφορ[ιῶνος ὅγδοη καὶ δεκάτη, εἰκοστ-]
[ἡ]ι τῆς πρυ[τανείας κτλ.]

or (2):

Σκιροφορ[ιῶνος ἑηρ καὶ νέα, τριακοστ-]
[ἡ]ι τῆς πρυ[τανείας κτλ.]

In either case the restoration does not fit in with the scheme proposed by Kirchner in his note to No. 662. The year of Menekles is probably intercalary.

No. 670. Kirchner's date for the first decree on this stone is impossible because by his cycle we have four, possibly five, ordinary years in succession. In line 1 we may restore [*ἐπὶ Κιμωνος*] and date this document in 292/291 B.C. This gives us our proof for the disturbance in the secretary-cycle between 294–292 (*Class. Phil.*, IX [1914], 248). In lines 16–17 we must read:

[καὶ στεφανώσαι] αὐτὸν χρυσῷ [στεφάνῳ κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἀρε-
τῆς ἔνεκα καὶ εὐνοίας κτλ.]

No. 672. In line 1 restore *ἐπὶ Σωσιστράτου* and date this inscription in 282/281 B.C. (*Class. Phil.*, IX [1914], 258). The political situation at Athens in 279/278 B.C. does not permit us to date this document in that year.

No. 674. The archon Glaukippos belongs to the year 263/262 B.C. Kirchner is incorrect in his note to this inscription because the board *οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει* is found during the Chremonidean war as well as between 288–280 B.C. (cf. Nos. 686, 689, 690). From this date for Glaukippos it follows also that the *stemma* in *PA*, 4023, is correct and should not be changed.

No. 675. I am not convinced that Wilhelm's combination of the four fragments in this inscription is correct unless they actually join, and this does not seem to be the case. Fragment *a* has 43 letters

to a line, while the other fragments have only 42. In fragment c the phrase *ἐκ τῶν εἰς τὰ κατὰ ψηφίσματα ἀναλισκομένων τῷ δῆμῳ* is not found between 287 and 229 B.C., and the formula *τὸν ταμίαν τοῦ* (i.e., space for nine [?] letters) looks suspiciously like a fourth-century document.

No. 682. The correct interpretation of lines 30–55 has been given by Tarn, *Antigonus Gonatas*, 415 ff.; cf. *Class. Phil.*, IX (1914), 248.

All the evidence supports the theory that the Chremonidean war began in 267/266 B.C., and the archon Peithidemos should be placed in that year (*Class. Phil.*, IX [1914], *loc. cit.*).

No. 688. Lines 3–4 may be restored as follows:

Σ[κιροφοριῶνος ἐνάτῃ,
[εβδό]μ[ει τῆς πρωτανείας κτλ.]

No. 689. It is not correct to restore *ἐπὶ Ἀρρενῆδον* in line 1, because we know from the copy of the decree in Diogenes Laertios¹ that a commissioner was in charge of the administration in the archonship of Arrheneides, while in this decree the college is in power. We may be certain that the copy in Laertios is correct, because we know that Antigonos restored the single commissioner after the capture of the city.² I suggest that we restore in line 1 [*ἐπὶ Φιλιπτῶν*] and date the decree in 265/264 B.C. It may be noted in passing that Kirchner's note to the effect that *προεδρεῖειν εἰς τὴν πρώτην ἑκατησίαν* is not found after 262 B.C. is disproved by No. 808, line 12, if the latter is correctly dated.

No. 692. In line 8 we may restore *ἐπὶ Κίμωνος* or *ἐπὶ Γοργίου*. From the tenor of the decree I think it belongs to the period 288–280 B.C., during the struggle of the Athenians to maintain their independence. In that case we must restore *ἐπὶ Γοργίου*.

No. 696. The restoration *κατὰ τὸν νόμον* in line 2 is by no means

¹ vii. 9.

² This is clear from the fact that *δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ διοκήσει* appears in all the decrees from 256/232 B.C., and cf. Apollodorus (Ferguson, *Priests of Asklepios*, 153):

καὶ φρουρᾶν εἰς τὸ Μουσεῖον τούτει
εἰσῆχθεις αἱ ὄπις Ἀντιγόνου [καὶ τὰς]
ἀρχὰς [διηγρήσθαι] καὶ τὰν ἐρ[ι]θεῖς
βουλεύειν (?) ἐφείσθαι

certain, and it is possible to restore ἀπὸ : X : δραχμῶν and assign the decree to ca. 306–303 B.C.

No. 697. From the cycle of the secretaries this decree must be assigned to a year in which Demetrias held the secretaryship. The only possibility is 290/289 B.C., and, since we can restore [*ἐπὶ Χαρίου*] exactly in line 1, there is little doubt that this archon and decree should be dated in that year.

No. 700. The archon preceding Thymochares had a name containing ten letters in the genitive case. From the table of archons it may be seen that the only possible combination is to restore [*ἐπὶ Τηλοκλέους*] in line 10 and date Thymochares in 274/273 B.C. If we attempt to restore line 3, the following days of the prytany give the requisite length of line: ἐβδόμει καὶ εἰκοστῇ, τετάρτῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ or πέμπτῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ. The latter is the proper restoration if the year is intercalary, for in an intercalary year the 29th of Boedromion coincides with the 25th of the third prytany (cf. Schmidt, *Handbuch der gr. Chronologie*, 774, Table a).

With the new reconstruction of the secretary-cycle I am inclined to believe that *IG*, II, 5. 381b should be assigned to the year 269/268 B.C., for the tribe of the secretary is Aiantis. The letters in this inscription seem to me to belong to the first half of the century and not to the year 227/226 B.C. This earlier date obviates the necessity for assuming that Aphidna was divided between Ptolemais and Aiantis after 232 B.C.¹

Nos. 702, 703. These decrees must be dated in the year 268/267 B.C.

No. 704. If there is any value in the secretary-cycle as a means of dating decrees in the third century, this inscription affords conclusive proof that the tribe Ptolemais was created in 233/232 B.C. It cannot be dated in the third century in any of the cycles hitherto constructed. From the new cycle we date this inscription in 257/256 B.C.² (cf. *AJP* [1913], 381 ff.).

No. 705. This decree may also belong to the archonship of Isaios.

¹ *AJP* (1913), 391 and 417.

² The date of the restoration of liberty to the Athenians by Antigonos is not precisely determined. In the Armenian version of Eusebios the majority of the versions agree on 255/254 B.C., but *Versio Zohrabi* reads 256/255. In Hieronymos this testimony is reversed, for the majority assign this event to 256/255 B.C. and only the

No. 706. The value of the amount of property is never given before the last half of the century. I should date this decree *ca.* 232 B.C. Kirchner's note should be corrected; for the commissioner ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει belongs to the years 279–268 and 262–232 B.C. instead of 275–229 B.C.

No. 707. The gift of citizenship is not restricted and there is no scrutiny. The decree probably belongs in the period *ca.* 295 B.C.

No. 709. The same formula is found in No. 507 and the decrees may be contemporary.

Nos. 710, 711. These belong in 288–280 or 267–262 B.C.

No. 712. The omission of the scrutiny in the restriction of enrolment to citizens seems to date this decree in the years 267–262 B.C.

No. 717. The formulae seem to date this inscription in the period 262–230 B.C.

Nos. 721, 722. These belong to the years 279–268 B.C.

No. 734. This stone is not broken on the right side as Kirchner supposes. We suggest the following restoration:

[ἐπὶ Φειδοστράτου ἀρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Κεκροπίδος
[τρίτης πρυτανείας ὥ ----- Κηφι]σοδώρου Ἰκ-
[αριεύς ἔγραμμάτενεν· Βοηδορομιῶνος] ἐβδόμει ἐπ-
[ἱ δέκα, ἔκτει καὶ δεκάτει τῆς πρυτανείας κτλ.]

The archon's name must consist of twelve letters at least. The only name which can be restored is that of Pheidonstratos. From the cycle we must date the document in 250/249 B.C., and since the archon Pheidonstratos has been dated on prosopographical grounds *ca.* 250 B.C., there is little doubt that this is the correct restoration (cf. *AJP* [1913], 404).

No. 744. In the Chremonidean war Sicyon was apparently allied with Athens for a very short time (*Class. Phil.*, IX [1914], 274). It is possible that this document belongs to these years.

In Division XV, Kirchner apparently does not place implicit confidence in the secretary-cycle, for the archons from 262–229 B.C.

codex Bernensis places it in 255/254. Ferguson points out that the δῆμος made a dedication to Asklepios in 256/255 B.C. (*Priests of Asklep.*, 147 and n. 29), and it is certain that the city had its "liberty" in that year. Is it not possible that Antigonus gave them liberty in the preceding year, and that from No. 704 we may infer that the old machinery of government was in working order by the end of March in 256 B.C.?

are dated approximately only. Since the tribe Ptolemais was created in 232 B.C. (*AJP* [1913], 381 ff.), the cycle as constructed by Ferguson is one year out between 262–232 B.C., and the archons of this period should be changed accordingly.¹

Nos. 765, 766. Philoneos must be dated in 270/269 B.C. There is no evidence that the ephebic system existed from 262–240 B.C. I do not know why Kirchner says that No. 766 is not *στοιχηδόν*. Only lines 13–14 are irregular, being crowded in the first part of the line.

Nos. 768, 769. Kirchner is correct in assigning Antimachos to the period of the twelve tribes instead of *ca.* 206/205 B.C. Since the secretary is from Pandionis we may choose either 258/257 or 246/245 B.C. as the date of this archon. From an inscription found at Rhamnous and published in *Πρακτικά* (1891), 16 we learn that Philostratos and Phanostratos preceded Antimachos, not necessarily immediately, and that an army officer was elected by popular vote (*χειροτονθείς*) in all three archonships. This would be impossible in 262–256 B.C.; so we must conclude that Antimachos is to be dated in 246/245 B.C. and Philostratos and Phanostratos probably in 249/248 and 248/247 B.C. It is possible that Philostratos may be dated in 251/250 B.C. or even earlier.²

The importance of this inscription from Rhamnous has not yet been pointed out. When Alexander Krateros revolted and set up an independent kingdom in Euboea and Corinth, he maintained himself by piracy, and from his island harbors the coast of Attica was particularly vulnerable. It was an easy matter for the pirates to run down from Eretria, plunder the country, and sail back to safety before the natives could muster their forces to repel the invaders. Hence Antigonos had to keep a standing army along the coast from Rhamnous to Sunion. I think that we may be justified in claiming that Euboea had not yet come into the power of Antigonos in the archonship of Antimachos. If it had, there would be no necessity for troops at Rhamnous whatever, and it is quite certain that Antigonos would not have kept them there unless they were necessary; for he needed every available man elsewhere. We may now hazard a guess about the date of the recovery of the island by

¹ Cf. note, p. 429.

² Cf. No. 775.

Antigonos. Apparently in 246/245 b.c. Eretria was still the home of pirates, and Rhamnous had to be defended. After the battles of Andros and Kos (probably 246 and 245 b.c., Tarn, *Antigonus Gonatas*, 378, and appendix 12) Antigonos was free to turn his attention to the reduction of the island. There is no direct evidence that he did so, but Chalkis was too important a post in the line of communication between Macedon and the south to be neglected.

No. 775. From this decree we learn that the formula for sacrifices in honor of Antigonos contains a maximum of about 42 letters. We must assume that no mention was made either of the queen or the offspring. This could only be explained if Phila were dead when this decree was passed, and that, I think, is the true solution. We may therefore restore lines 14–15 as follows: [καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀντιγόνου καὶ τῶν ἐγγόνων αὐτοῦ]. ἐπειδὴ δὲ κτλ.

Ferguson believes that the archon Lysiades held office in the year following the year of the priest of Asklepios (*Priests of Asklepios*, 140). There are two decrees on this stone. The mover of both is the same. Both refer to sacrifices, and it is reasonable to suppose that the second document is dealing with similar sacrifices at the opening of the spring campaign in the same official year. It is probable that both decrees belong to the same prytany, or at least to successive prytanies. At any rate there is no objection to be urged against dating Lysiades in 248/247 b.c. Philostratos may therefore be dated in 251/250 or 249/248 b.c., and Phanostratos either 249/248 or 247/246 b.c. If Kirchner is correct in his representation of the length of lines 1–3 in No. 774, showing about 10 letters broken away on the left side, it is impossible to restore [*έρι Φλοστράτ]ον* in line 1. In that case we must date Philostratos in 249/248 and Phanostratos in 247/246 b.c.

No. 776. In lines 9–10 the formula for sacrifices in honor of the royal family contains about 62 letters. This is entirely different from that in honor of Antigonos, but precisely the same as that for Demetrios (*IG*, II, 5. 614b). Wilamowitz' restoration of these lines can only be justified if we date this decree earlier than No. 775, or when Phila was still alive. This, however, does not seem possible, and I think we must read in these lines the following:

[καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως Δημητρίου καὶ τῆς βασιλίσ(σ)ης
[Φθίας καὶ τῶν ἐγγόνων αὐτῶν]

The date of Alkibiades will thus be settled in the year 234/233 B.C. (cf. *AJP* [1913], 408).

No. 777. The reference in line 9 is probably to King Demetrios, son of Antigonos Gonatas; since the archon Kallimedes is dated in 235/234 B.C.

No. 780. The restoration in lines 11–12 should be the same as that suggested above in No. 776. Apparently the name of the queen came last in the formula in this case.

No. 783. We should probably restore in line 1 *ἐπὶ* ----- *βίον* *ἀρχοντος* and date this decree in 230/229 B.C. The senate met at Peiraeus to celebrate the recovery of the harbors from Macedon. If Kirchner believes that the inscription is dated *ca.* 204/203 B.C., he should have placed it in Fasc. II. Similarly No. 786, which he dates a little after 229/228 B.C., has no right to a place among decrees dated from 403–229 B.C.

No. 789 must be dated in 230 B.C. or later. The steward of the military funds does not pay for the cost of inscriptions before 230 B.C. Cf. No. 792.

In No. 790, lines 16–17, the same restoration should be made as we have given for No. 776.

It is unfortunate that Kirchner has repeated Wilhelm's conjecture as the only possible reading of the initial letter of the secretary's deme in No. 791. The acceptance of this without question has proved to be one of the worst stumbling-blocks in the dating of the archons of the latter half of the century. There is no doubt that the reading of line 4 as published in the old volume is correct. In line 5 we should restore *εἰκοστήι* instead of *δευτέραι* (cf. *AJP* [1913], 384 ff.).

In No. 793 the *ταμίαι τῶν δοτῶν* who pay for the statue—and, if the restoration is correct, for the inscription—are not elsewhere found in this capacity. The form *γίνεσθαι* seems to be good evidence for dating this inscription as late in the reign of Antigonos as possible.

No. 794. Kirchner is mistaken in saying that this inscription

is not *στοιχηδόν*. The facsimile in the old edition is the correct publication of the stone. It is impossible to determine absolutely the length of the line; for it may vary from 42 to 46 letters.¹ The only possible means of dating the archon Hagnias with our present information hangs on the restoration of line 4. If Koehler's restoration *ἐν τῷ[ι Ἐλευσινίῳ]* were accepted, we should date this document in the second year of an Olympiad; Van der Looff suspects the phrase; but I do not believe that his objections are necessarily valid, since we know practically nothing about the length of the festival of the Greater Eleusinia in the third century. That the assembly was held in the Eleusinion only after the celebration of the mysteries is a theory which must be examined with care. How are we to explain *IG*, II, 431, which seems to belong to the year *following* the Mysteries?

No. 795. The archon Theophemos belongs to an *ordinary* year. There is no other clue to the date of this document, whose limits are 256–254, 249, 247, 244–243 B.C.

Nos. 796, 797. These decrees belong to the same year, and the vacancies for an archon whose name has 9 or 10 letters, and whose secretary belongs to Antiochis, are exceedingly rare. In fact, the only available place for these documents is 213/212 B.C. The archon for that year is Herakleitos, and we can restore his name in both decrees. Since there were thirteen tribes at that time, we must restore No. 797 as follows:

[έφ' Ἡρακλείτου ἄρχοντος] ἐπὶ τῆς Δημητριά[δος τρίτης]
 [πρυτανείας ὁ -----]ος Λύκου Ἀλωπεκῆθ[εν ἐγραμμά-]
 [τενεν' Βοηδρομιῶνος ἔν]ει καὶ νέαι, τριακο[τεῖ τῆς πρ-]
 [πτυνειας κτλ.]

¹ The restoration which I proposed in *AJP* (1913), 406, is not the only possible one, if this is not a year of the Mysteries. In line 3 the day of the month may be restored *τετράδι ισταμένου*, *τετράδι ἑτοί δέκα*, or *τετράδι φθίνοντος*. With these restorations we can get a line anywhere from 42 to 46 letters, and the deme of the secretary cannot therefore be determined. Moreover, if this is a year of the Mysteries we may restore in line 3; *τετράδι φθίνοντος ἔτει καὶ εἰκοστήτι*. Thus we get a minimum length of 44 letters and the deme of the secretary in line 2 may thus contain only 11 letters. If Hagnias belongs to 255/254 B.C. we may, therefore, restore *'Επικυ-φίσιος* in line 2, since this is the only deme belonging to Oineis which has the requisite number of letters.

Since month and prytany coincide in 796 and 797, we must assume that 213/212 B.C. is an intercalary year. These inscriptions should be republished in the second fascicle in their proper place.

No. 798. This decree probably belongs to the archonship of Charikles, 240/239 B.C., and in line 10 we should restore *ἐπ' Ἀθηνοδώρου* (cf. No. 784).

No. 800. Kirchner observes that the *sympoedri* are not recorded in the official order, since Anaphlya (XII) comes before Sphettos (VII). Perhaps the true explanation is that this decree belongs in the period of the thirteen tribes, and that Anaphlya was a divided deme, part being given to Ptolemais, and part remaining in the old tribe. I am inclined to think that the constitution of Ptolemais between 232–200 B.C. was different from that which prevailed in the second century. When Antigonis and Demetrias were disbanded, and Attalis created, there must have been some changes made in Ptolemais as well.

No. 802. *ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ*. There seems little doubt that this formula is admissible after 262 B.C.

Nos. 804, 805. Both these decrees belong to the first part of the century rather than the middle, and probably earlier than 268 B.C.

No. 808. In lines 27–28 we must restore *τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει*. The college existed at no time between 260–230 B.C. Wilhelm's assignment of this decree to *ca.* 234 B.C. may be seriously doubted. The restricted enrolment for citizenship and the omission of scrutiny cannot be proved for this period. I am inclined to think that Koehler may be right in dating this inscription *ca.* 303/302 B.C.

I give a brief summary of the historical limits of certain formulae used in the Attic *ψηφίσματα*. In the prescript *δὲ δένα ἡρχεν* is rare after 387/386 B.C. and disappears in 349/348 B.C. (No. 206). The number of the prytany is seldom given in the first quarter of the century. The phrase *ἐπὶ τῆς δεῖνος ἔκτης πρυτανεύσης* occurs twice (Nos. 18, 34). *ἐπὶ τῆς δεῖνος* ---- *πρυτανείας* first occurs in 378 B.C. (No. 43). With the latter comes in *ἡ δὲ δένα ἐγραμμάτενεν*. *Ca.* 354 B.C. there was a revival of the phrase *ἡ δένα ἐπρυτάνενε*, possibly as a conscious archaism, but it disappeared finally in 340/339 B.C. (No. 233). The day of the prytany is first given in 368/367 B.C. (No. 105). It is never added when *ἡ δένα ἐπρυτάνενε* is used.

The name and day of the month first appear in 338/337 B.C. (No. 237). ἐκκλησία first appears in the prescript in 335/334 B.C. (No. 330). τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφιζεν δὲ δεῖνα first appears in 378/377 B.C. (No. 44) and the last dateable example of δὲ δεῖνα ἐπεστάτει is 342/341 B.C. (No. 227). The συμπρόδεροι first appears in 318/317 B.C. (No. 448).

The custom of giving the father's name and deme of the proposer of the motion appears first in 354/353 B.C. (No. 136) and seems to be invariable thereafter. The only exception if it is an exception appears to be No. 214 (347/346 B.C.).

In matters of procedure the following points may be noted: γνώμην δὲ ξυμβάλλεσθαι τῆς βουλῆς κτλ. first appears in 378/377 B.C. (No. 44), τὸς δὲ πρυτάνεις δοῦναι τὴν ψῆφον περὶ αὐτοῦ τῷ δῆμῳ first appears in 369/368 B.C. (No. 103) or, if No. 21 is correctly dated by the editors, ca. 388/387 B.C. After ca. 304 B.C. the formula always lacks the words τῷ δῆμῳ. The last examples are Nos. 558, 696, both of which I date in 304/303 or 303/302 B.C. προσαγαγεῖν τὸν δεῖνα εἰς τὸν δῆμον εἰς τὴν πρώτην ἐκκλησίαν καὶ χρηματίζειν is found first in 369/368 B.C. (No. 103). τὸς προέδρος οἱ ἀν τυγχάνωσι προεδρεύοντες appears in 368/367 B.C. (No. 106). This phrase varies considerably, for all varieties of syntactical construction are found and apparently without any historical limits. Instead of τὴν πρώτην ἐκκλησίαν the variant τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἐκκλησίαν appears first in 299/298 B.C. (No. 643). The old phrase still survives but it is comparatively rare after 260 B.C.

The inscription may be set up ἐν πόλει as late as ca. 383/382 B.C. (No. 245). ἐν ἀκροπόλει for ἐν πόλει appears as early as 394/393 B.C. (No. 19) and displaces it entirely after 383/382 B.C.

The phrase ἐκ τῶν εἰς τὰ κατὰ ψηφίσματα ἀναλισκομένων τῷ δῆμῳ appears in No. 21, which Kirchner dates ca. 388 B.C. The first dateable example is found in 368/367 B.C. (No. 106). The fund seems to have been created with the reforms of 376 B.C. when the stewards of Athens were displaced by the ταμίας τοῦ δήμου. It has a continuous history from 368 to 301 B.C. Then it disappears from sight until the restoration of the democracy in 232 B.C. with but one certain exception, the decrees of the archonship of Euthios.

The γραμματεὺς τοῦ δήμου first appears in 307/306 B.C. (cf.

Nos. 514, 517). The *ἀναγραφέbs* publishes the decrees only from 321/320—319/318 B.C.

In decrees of citizenship the scrutiny by the thesmothetae is first mentioned in 334/333 B.C. (No. 336). The first dateable example of any restriction in choice of tribe and deme and phratry appears in 331/330 B.C. (No. 350). In the third century the variation in the formulae and requirements of enrolment are most complicated. For the most part they seem to follow political changes.

The limitation of the right of foreigners to possess land is found for the first time in a dateable document in 325/324 B.C. (No. 360). The restrictive phrase *κατὰ τὸν νόμον* seems to disappear ca. 304/303 B.C. The last example of its use is probably No. 466 (307/306 B.C.). There are no decrees of this type which can be dated with certainty in the first part of the third century. After 232 B.C. a limit of value is always fixed for house and land.

In honorary decrees in the fourth century the man is praised *ὅτι εὖνος ἐστι* or *ὅτι ἀγαθὸς ἐστι*, but the abstract qualities *ἀρετή* and *εὔνοια* do not appear before 356/355 B.C. (No. 127). *φιλοτυμία* is praised but once before 350 B.C. (No. 169). Piety becomes praiseworthy in 276 B.C. (No. 678). A selfish motive appears in this type of document in the latter half of the fourth century; for they add the phrase *ὅπως ἂν εἰδῶσι πάντες κτλ.* (343/342 B.C. [No. 223], but Kirchner dates No. 183 before 353/352 B.C.). It is interesting to observe that there is no example of *ὅτι ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἐστι* in the third century if we except No. 808, which Koehler dated ca. 304/303 B.C. and Wilhelm ca. 239–234 B.C.

The last example of the value of the crown which can be dated belongs to ca. 306/305 B.C. (No. 467). After 304/303 B.C. the phrase *κατὰ τὸν νόμον* is used in its place.

The *ταμίας τὸν δῆμον* appears for the last time in No. 505 (302/301 B.C.). The history of the financial boards which pay for the decrees during the third century shows that the changes follow the shift of political parties with remarkable precision. The study of these will be presented in a later paper.

Formulae can be used in dating inscriptions within certain limits with considerable confidence, but we are on far more dangerous ground when we use forms of letters and methods of spelling. For

example, Kirchner places infinitives in *-εν* before 354/353 B.C. when there is no other means of dating, while as a matter of fact such forms are found as late as 340/339 B.C. (No. 232). It is very unsafe to set any limit; for such matters are not regulated by law, and we must consider the age and conservatism of the scribe who wrote out the copy, and of the stonecutter who wrought it on stone. I give the limits of a few of these peculiarities according to the documents now known. *alei* for *αι* disappears after 361 B.C. (cf. No. 146, note). *ε* for *ει* disappears in 340/339 B.C. (No. 232), though *πυραέας* for *πυραείας* is found as late as 320/319 B.C. (No. 215). *ο* for *οι* is comparatively rare after 350/349 B.C. and is not found after 334/333 B.C. (No. 336). *'Αθηναῖα* and *'Αθηνᾶα* make way for *'Αθηνᾶ* in 362/361 B.C. (No. 112). Many other forms of less common use might be noted, but the limits of those may be found in Meisterhans with approximate accuracy.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

SOME MEDIAEVAL CASES OF BLOOD-RAIN

Twice in the *Iliad* Zeus sends a rain of blood as a portent of slaughter. Just before the third battle, he threw the Greeks into confusion,

κατὰ δ' ὑψόθεν ἤκεν ἔρσας
αἷματι μιδαλέας ἐξ αἰλέρος, οὐνεκ' ἔμελλε
πολλὰς ἵψημος κεφαλάς "Αἰδος προϊάψειν (Λ 53-55).

Before the death of his son Sarpedon, Zeus

αἷματούσσας δὲ ψιάδας κατέχενεν ἔραζε
παιᾶνα φίλον τιμῶν (Π 459-60).

The same portent appears in a passage in Hesiod, perhaps borrowed from the second of the above passages.¹ Among other ominous showers, blood-rain is several times recorded by Livy, in each case falling only on a small space and regarded as a portent.² Pliny³ and Cicero speak of such reports, but the latter, with his usual good sense, rejects the idea of blood and suggests that the color of the rain may be "ex aliqua contagione terrena."⁴

Cicero's suggestion appears to be right. Of various theories as to a terrestrial source for the coloring matter,⁵ the most scientific is that in an

¹ Αστρις Ἡρακλέους 384-85; cf. Goettling's note.

² Book xxiv. 10; xxxiv. 45; xxxix. 46, 56; xl. 19. On the Roman cases cf. Franz Luterbacher, *Der Prodigienglaube und Prodigienstil der Römer* (Burgdorf, 1904), pp. 17, 23, 49, 65.

³ *Nat. Hist.* ii. 57.

⁴ *De divinatione* ii. 27.

⁵ It has been attributed to a reddish dust mingling with the rain (Köppen's note on the first passage in the *Iliad*; see his *Anmerkungen zu Homers Ilias*); to dust formed of cinnabar (Alexandre's note on the passage in Pliny, II, 57, Paris, 1827), or of red clay (Lemaire's note on Livy i. 31; Paris, 1822); to a small alga (F. A. Paley, *Epic of Herod*, London, 1861, p. 142); to a reddish juice said to be deposited on plants by certain insects (cf. the notes on the first Homeric passage by Köppen, Crusius, Dübner, and Owen; also the Ameis-Henze edition, *Erläuterungen*, on II 459, etc.). This last explanation is by no means favored by most of the ancient and mediaeval cases. The scholia on the Homeric passages (*Scholia in Iliadem*, ed. Dindorf and Maas, i. 374; iii. 457-58; iv. 131; v. 381) suggest that after great battles blood flows into the rivers, whence it is taken up into the clouds and descends in rain. The twelfth-century archbishop Eustathius gave much the same explanation (*Commentarii*, Leipzig, 1829, III, 336). Grey rains, but hardly red rains, are to be attributed sometimes to forest-fires; see Fred G. Plummer, *Forest Fires* (U.S. Dept. of Agriculture, Forest Service, Bulletin 117), pp. 17, 21-22, who records a number of red rains in the nineteenth century.

elaborate article by Ehrenberg, in the *Abhandlungen* of the Berlin Academy,¹ who describes various showers of red rain and dust in the earlier part of the nineteenth century. He gives microscopic analyses of the colored matter, largely particles of various minute animal and vegetable forms. The reddish or yellowish dust so composed, mixing with water, gives the look of diluted blood. Whence the dust comes is not so clear, and Ehrenberg rejected the idea that it is from the Sahara Desert; it has even seemed to lack characteristic African forms.² He suggested that in various parts of the world it may be drawn by violent winds out of such places as dried swamps, and, after being carried long distances at a great height, descends in the rain.³ He believed that study of the phenomenon may throw light on atmospheric currents. He also collected⁴ from all kinds of sources, historical and legendary, a very large number of cases of bloody rain and of phenomena which he considered similar. Whatever we may think of some of his explanations and comments,⁵ he certainly showed that the phenomenon has been exceedingly widespread.

In the course of reading in mediaeval texts the present writer has come upon many actual or legendary cases of blood-rain overlooked by Ehrenberg, which indicate greater frequency than he had shown, in northern and western Europe and in regions still more remote.⁶ First I give in the chronological order of the supposed events certain cases in England and France, then in Ireland, then in Iceland.

Geoffrey of Monmouth,⁷ writing about 1136, is telling of the happy reign of Rivallo, great-grandson of King Leir and grand-nephew of Queen Cordeilla: "In tempore ejus tribus diebus cecidit pluvia sanguinea, et muscarum affluentia: quibus moriebantur homines." This is supposed to be in

¹ *Passatstaub und Blutregen*, volume for 1847, pp. 269-460. The subject was also discussed by the physicist Chladni in his work on *Feuermeteore* (1819).

² Pp. 270, 434.

³ Pp. 270, 437.

⁴ Pp. 327-95.

⁵ He suggested that various weighty events in history, beginning with the exodus of Israel from Egypt, had been affected by such portents (pp. 439-40).

⁶ Exhaustiveness naturally would be almost unattainable, and I make no such claim. Cases might have been multiplied by including other phenomena which Ehrenberg considered similar. For example, the tears and sweat (sometimes bloody) reported by ancient writers as found on statues and altars of the gods (pp. 335, 338, 341, 345, 346) are paralleled by the bleeding, sweating, and weeping crucifix in the cathedral of Dublin in 1197 (see Roger of Hoveden, Rolls Series, 1871, IV, 30). The scriptural turning of water to blood (Exod. 4:9; 7:20-21; Rev. 8:8; 11:6) is paralleled in Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Eccles. Franc.* (Société de l'histoire de France), VIII, 25; on an island near Vannes in Brittany, about 585, a pond is said to have been turned to blood to the depth of an ell, and many dogs and birds came to drink from it. In Brittany later (1161) a famine is said to have been preceded by a blood-rain in the diocese of Dol; rills of blood ran from a fountain, and bread when cut shed blood in abundance (Dom Morice, *Hist. de Bret.*, II, 237).

⁷ Ed. by San-Marte (Halle, 1854), p. 29; book II, chap. xvi.

England, some time after the foundation of Rome. Geoffrey enjoys a higher reputation for imagination than for credibility, but his words possibly may embalm a bit of genuine tradition. He clearly regards the rain as ominous.¹

One of the seven manuscripts of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*² has this entry: "An.DC.LXXXV. In this year there was a bloody rain in Britain. And milk and butter were turned to blood. And Lothere, king of Kent, died." This is not a contemporary record; the redaction and manuscript are much later than the year 685, and whence the information came no one can be sure.³ Yet one is always inclined to believe the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. A connection may or may not be felt between the bloody rain and butter and the death of the Kentish king.⁴

Ralph Higden, a monk of St. Werberg's Abbey, Chester (died 1364), wrote a so-called *Polychronicon*,⁵ a universal history from the creation to 1352, a work of little historical value, but interesting for "the view it affords of the historical, geographic, and scientific knowledge of the age in which it appeared."⁶ Whatever the authenticity of the following information, Higden's comment is interesting: "Hoc anno [sc. 787] apparuit in vestibus Anglorum signum crucis mirabile, et sanguis de coelo in terram profluxit. Quod utrum advenerit in signum motionis⁷ Jerosolimitanae post trescentos annos, tempore scilicet Willelmi Rifi, futurae, an potius ad correctionem gentis Anglie, ut plagam Dacorum venturam formidarent,

¹ His notice appears, expanded, in various works founded on his *Historia*, such as Wace's *Roman de Brut* (ll. 2171–78), the *Flores Historiarum* (Rolls Ser., I, 58), and Holinshed's *Chronicles*, Shakespeare's chief historical source (II, 7). The raciest version is in Lazamon's so-called *Brut* (about 1200, ed. Madden, I, 165–66), for which I quote Madden's very literal translation: "In the same time here came a strange token, such as before never came, nor never hitherto since. From heaven here came a marvellous flood; three days it rained blood, three days and three nights. That was exceeding great harm! When the rain was gone, here came another token anon. Here came black flies, and flew in men's eyes; in their mouth, in their nose, their lives went all to destruction; such multitude of flies here was that they ate the corn and the grass. Woe was all the folk that dwelt in the land! Thereafter came such a mortality that few here remained alive. Afterward here came an evil hap, that king Riwald died."

² Ed. Thorpe (Rolls Ser., 1861), I, 63, MS Cott. Domit. A, VIII.

³ Cf. Gross, *Sources and Literature of English History*, pp. 177–78.

⁴ Mediaeval chroniclers are given to mentioning unusual occurrences, merely for their general interest. One of the best of them, Matthew Paris (*Chron. Maj.*, ed. Luard, Rolls Ser., 1872–83, II, 136), between accounts of two events in the episcopate and of an invasion of Epirus, tells of a sow at Liège that farrowed a little pig with a human face, and of a four-footed chick born to a hen. A churlish scribe or reader has written in the margin: "Impertinens sed verum."

⁵ Rolls Ser., 1865–86, VI, 276–79.

⁶ Gross, p. 289.

⁷ I.e., expeditionis bellicae (Ducange). Ehrenberg has several instances of the apparition of crosses and the like on people's clothes (pp. 355 [perhaps the above case], 357, 362).

nos nihil temere definimus, sed Deo sua decreta committimus." The sign of the cross on the garments inevitably suggested the crusaders (med. Lat., *cruce-signati*) to a writer after the eleventh century; but clearly the natural interpretation of the bloody rain was a coming calamity like the Danish invasions. Higden had no doubt it meant something.

The valuable chronicle known by the name of Benedict of Peterborough¹ consists mostly of contemporary entries, from 1170 into the reign of Richard I. On June 19, 1177, it records a bloody rain in the Isle of Wight: "Interim, die Dominica clausi Pentecosten, scilicet decimo tertio kalendas Julii, et festo Sanctorum Gervasii et Prothasii martyrum, sanguineus imber cecidit in insula de With, fere per duas horas integras; ita quod linea panni, qui per sepes suspensi fuerant ad siccandum, sic rore illo sanguineo aspersi fuerant, ac si mersi essent in vase aliquo sanguine pleno."

A very portentous case happened to Richard I in May, 1198, while he was superintending the building of Château Gaillard, by which he meant to guard the borders of Normandy; it is described in the last paragraph of William of Newburgh's contemporary and highly valuable chronicle:² A prodigy is said to have happened. Some persons of station who say they were present declare that while the king was urging on the work, as he often did, taking great pleasure in its progress, "repente imber sanguine mixtus descendit, stupentibus cum ipso rege cunetis qui aderant: cum et in suis vestibus veri sanguinis guttas conspicerent, et rem tam insolitam malum portendere formidarent. Verum ex hoc idem rex non est territus, quo minus operi promovendo intenderet, in quo sibi, ni fallor, ita complacebat, ut etiam si angelus de coelo id omittendum suaderet, anathema illi esset."

In the most reliable part of the chronicle of Walter of Coventry,³ based on another nearly contemporary chronicle, under the year 1212, we read: "Apud Cadomum (sc. Caen) in Normannia visus [est] sanguis pluisse vi^a. idus Julii, feria vi^a. Eodem die apud Faleise visae sunt [tres] crucis adinvicem in aere quasi pugnare." Possibly there is significance in the position of the notice, between references to the tragic "Children's Crusade" and to the interdict placed on England by Pope Innocent III.

The continuator of Knighton's chronicle,⁴ writing about the time of the events in question (1387), says: "Et XIII^o. mensis Octobris in comitatu Derbeyae apparuit quaedam nubecula quasi hora sexta, ut dicebatur, et pluit sanguinem ad spatium quantum est jactus sagittae in circuitu."

The *Book of Leinster* contains disjointed historical notes, written in Irish in the twelfth century. Among them prodigies befalling in Ireland

¹ Bishop Stubbs, Rolls Ser., 1867, I, 177.

² Ed. Howlett, Rolls Ser., 1885, p. 500; also independently in the reliable chronicle of Ralph of Diceto (ed. Stubbs, Rolls Ser., 1876, II, 162).

³ Compiled 1293-1307 (Gross, p. 278); ed. Stubbs (Rolls Ser., 1872-73), II, 205.

⁴ Ed. Lumby (Rolls Ser., 1889-95), II, 241.

are often mentioned, including showers of silver, honey, and wheat; also this in the year 868: "Showers of blood were poured, and the clots of gore were found."¹ The preceding entry is on the Battle of Killineer in the same year. According to the valuable *Chronicum Scotorum*, which, however, contains much legendary material in its earlier part, in the year 878 "it rained a shower of blood, which was found in lumps of gore and blood on all the plains in Ciannachta, at Dumha-na n-Deisi especially," followed by other prodigies.²

Another case near Ireland is in the Icelandic *Brennu-Njálssaga*,³ chap. clvi, shortly before the Battle of Clontarf, near Dublin, in 1014. Brian and Malachy II, kings of Erin, are warring against the Danes of Leinster, who seek the aid of their countrymen elsewhere, including the vikings Bróðir and Ospakr, who are off the Isle of Man. Before they go there are great prodigies: "There was one night when Bróðir's men heard a great noise, so that they all awoke and started up and got into their clothes. Therewith it rained boiling-hot blood upon them. Then they sheltered themselves with their shields, but many were burned; that marvel lasted till broad day; one man had died on each ship." Other prodigies followed. Ospakr is so impressed that he goes over to the Irish side. The editor says the whole passage is legendary, perhaps because the incident is not mentioned in another Norse version nor in the Irish accounts of the war.⁴ At the beginning of the *Darradar-ljóð*, which occurs a little later in the same saga, but in a different connection, a rain of blood is spoken of as a portent of slaughter.⁵

An interesting case is in the *Eyrbyggja Saga*, written in the thirteenth century and founded on much earlier oral tradition. The following event is given as occurring in the extreme west of Iceland in the year 1001, the year after Christianity was introduced: While Þorod and his household are making hay, three hours after noon a small cloud comes swiftly up and rain

¹ Edited and translated by Whitley Stokes, in the volume with the *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick* (Rolls Ser., 1887), II, 520–21. Our author does not say which kind of shower was due to Home Rule.

² Rolls Ser., 1866, pp. 166–67. The early Druids were believed to be able to bring down fiery and bloody rain.

³ Edited by Finnur Jónsson (Halle, 1908, *Altnordische Saga-Bibliothek*, XIII).

⁴ *Annals of Loch Cé*, and *War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill* (both in the Rolls Series); *Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed*, 1904, pp. 161–62.

⁵ Vitt es orpet
fyr valfalle
rifs reipeský,
rigner blópe.

—*Saga-Bibliothek*, XIII, 413.

A similar prodigy is mentioned in chap. clvii of the same saga: "In Iceland at Svinafell came blood on the priest's mass-vestment on Good Friday."

falls. When it clears they see that it has rained blood, which dries off all the hay except that raked by Porgunna, a woman lately come from the British Isles. The blood has fallen only at that place, and she declares that it bodes death for some one of them. She removes her bloodied clothes, takes to her bed, and dies in a few days. Because her will is not duly executed, she and other spectres walk, but are laid by holy-water and masses.¹

These accounts agree well with the classical examples. Sometimes the rain seems to last a long, sometimes a short, time. Sometimes it is seen to cover only a small area, which may be due to the fact that a slight coloring would be only occasionally noticed, and only against a light background, such as people's clothes, as in several of the cases. Often or usually the rain is felt as very portentous,² but characteristically of the Christian Middle Ages perhaps as not quite the same immediate sign of divine power as among the believers in nature-religions. Some of these mediaeval cases are clearly historical, and some seem to be legendary; a later imagination may have created a portent for a portentous time.

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AN INTERPRETATION OF TIBULLUS ii. 6. 8

quod si militibus parces, erit hic quoque miles,
ipse levem galea qui sibi portet aquam.

In reading this distich one at first thinks simply of the soldier's use of his helmet as a drinking-cup, as in Prop. iii. 12. 8; Claud. *De Bello Getico* 532 and III *Cons. Honor.* 49; Lucan ix. 498 ff.; *Eleg. in Maec.* 58; Quintus Curtius v. 13. 24; Stat. *Theb.* iii. 663, and Frontinus *Strat.* i. 77. But in Tibullus all good MSS read *portare*. We have not *potare* as in Propertius, nor have we any right to assume that *portare* here means simply "carry to the lips." Its real import is touched on by Dissen alone: "*cogitandus est secum portans in itinere aquam miles galea pendente in pectore.*"

The helmet is not only the soldier's cup; it serves at times as a receptacle for lots (cf. Virg. *Aen.* v. 490-91). And, as here the soldier bears water in it, so in Suet. *Caligula* 46 it is used to carry shells.

The soldier would of course carry water with him in his helmet only owing to a lack of it in the country through which he marches; he may be going through a desert, or it may be during the summer heat. This intensi-

¹ Ed. Gering, *Saga-Bibliothek* (Halle, 1897), VI, chap. li. We cannot tell whether there was an eruption of Mount Hekla in that year, the earliest on record being in 1104; but Ehrenberg believed blood-rain to be unconnected with either volcanic or cosmic dust. In the above passage the little cloud and the small space covered recall the case quoted from Knighton.

² Showers of blood in Germany, among other prodigies, were thought to presage the Black Death of 1348-49 (Mackinnon, *Life of Edward III*, pp. 363-64).

fies the hardships that the soldier endures,¹ and so the poet is really saying, "If soldiers escape love's pains, I am willing to become a soldier too, aye even in the midst of the heated desert where I must bear water with me."

As interpretations of *levem*,² the following have been proposed: (1) "quick-moving": from a running stream"; (2) it is synonymous with *vilis*; (3) it is a stock epithet, and denotes "quod non consistit sed facile movetur"; (4) light, i.e., easily digested, healthful.

For the first interpretation Ovid *Fasti* v. 662 and Horace *Epop.* 16. 47 are always cited. But in the former *cursum sustinere* at once points out motion, as does *desilire* in the latter. No similar expression appears in our passage. Moreover, in each of these citations we have water actually running and not merely "water from a running stream."

As for the second interpretation, such a citation as Horace *Sat.* i. 5. 88 does not in any way show that *levis aqua* means *vilis aqua*. Moreover, it remains to be proved that *vilis* and *levis* are ever precise synonyms. In any case no instance with *aqua* is cited.

The suggestion that *levis*³ is a permanent epithet of water, and means merely "easily moved," comes in part from *levis umbra* of ii. 5. 96, but there "the precise force of the epithet is not clear" (Postgate).⁴ Besides, *levis* is apparently nowhere employed as a stock epithet of water.

The last interpretation⁵ is based on such passages as Celsus ii. 18, p. 66 D: "aqua levissima pluvialis est; deinde fontana, tum ex flumine." Celsus, Seneca, Pliny, Vitruvius, Columella, and Cassiodorus are cited, all (1) writers of prose, (2) scientific or encyclopedic authors, and (3) of a period considerably later than Tibullus. Elsewhere *levis aqua* does not appear in this sense. Besides, a reference to the healthfulness of water seems entirely inappropriate here.

If we now turn to the verse itself, we note the expression *levem portare aquam*; carrying of course implies a burden, and, when this is described as *levis*, one most naturally ascribes to that word its usual prose meaning, i.e., of little weight. Ovid *Ex Ponto* iii. 8.12 furnishes an interesting parallel: "suppositoque *graem* vertice *portat aquam*." There a woman carries "a heavy weight of water"; in Tibullus the soldier carries a light burden of it, i.e., but little of it. As was pointed out before, he would not be carrying a few drops of water, save where it is scanty. Then of course he gathers up what little he can and bears it in his helmet.

This meaning of *levis*, i.e., the literal one, appears with *aqua* in Plin. *N. H.* ii. 224: "dulces aquae mari invehuntur, leviores haut dubie."

¹ Cicero (*Tusc.* ii. 15. 35) chose the soldier's marching amid great heat as his instance of *labor*.

² *levem* AV; *levi* G, the reading of Broukhusius and Baehrens.

³ Cf. Bursian's *Jahresbericht*, LI (1887), 337.

⁴ Cf. Dissen's discussion of stock epithets in his note on ii. 5. 96.

⁵ *Thesaurus*, I, p. 349, s.v. *aqua*: *C vis.*

Moreover, the way in which in passing through a desert a few drops of water were gathered up by the soldier in a helmet is clearly shown in Lucan ix. 498 ff.:

utque calor solvit, quem torserat aera ventus,
incensusque dies, manant sudoribus artus,
arent ora siti: conspecta est *parva maligna*
unda procul vena: quam vix e pulvere miles
corripiens patulum *galeae* confudit in orbem,
porrexitque duci. Squalebant pulvere fauces
cunctorum: *minimumque* tenens dux ipse liquoris
invidiosus erat.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Roman Farm Management: The Treatises of Cato and Varro Done into English, with Notes of Modern Instances. By A VIRGINIA FARMER. New York: Macmillan, 1913. Pp. xii+365. \$2.00.

This version of their treatises on farming would have delighted both Cato and Varro. It reflects with equal success the crisp, rugged style of the one and the discursiveness of the other. It is rather a free rendering of the Latin text than a close translation of it, as may be seen in this brief passage from §V of Cato's work: "Vilicus ne sit ambulator, sobrius siet semper, ad cenam nequo eat. Familiam exerceat, consideret, quae dominus imperaverit fiant. Ne plus censeat sapere se quam dominum. Amicos domini, eos habeat sibi amicos. Cui iussus siet, auscultet. Rem divinam nisi Conpitalibus in compito aut in foco ne faciat." This runs in the English rendering: "He should not be given to gadding or conviviality, but should be always sober. He should keep the hands busy, and should see that they do what the master has ordered. He should not think that he knows more than his master. The friends of the master should be his friends, and he should give heed to those whom the master has recommended to him. He should confine his religious practices to church on Sunday, or to his own house."

This book owes no small part of its charm to the notes, which are based on the wide reading of the translator, on his experience as a farmer, and on his travels at home and abroad. These comments give, among many other things, the history of alfalfa in ancient and modern times (p. 149), the story of the cultivation of the chestnut (p. 80), the comparative yield of wine (p. 61) and of wheat (p. 151) in Roman Italy and today, a reference to Mr. Roosevelt's Rural Uplift Commission (p. 35), a brief digression on one of Cato's epigrams (p. 29), Virginia recipes for the cooking and curing of hams (pp. 49 f.), and delightful discourses on Columella, Walter of Henley, Sir Anthony Fitzherbert, Walter Harte, Lord Kames, and other authors on husbandry. The wide sweep of the writer's interests and the freedom which he has allowed himself in talking about matters which are suggested to him by the text give a true Varronian flavor to the book. One would know that it came from the pen of a man of affairs, and we venture to guess that F.H., as the translator signs himself at the end of the preface, is Fairfax Harrison, the well-known financier and railway president.

Varro's treatise is given in full. Cato's work is abridged, and the material is rearranged in the English version, as the translator remarks (p. 20), at the risk of anathema at the hands of modern scholars because the process

"involves tampering with a text, as who should say, shooting a fox!" Only these typographical errors, or errors in statement, have caught the reviewer's eye: "Connington" (p. 73, n. 1), "Bigoraphy" (p. 114, n. 1), "Vicovara" (p. 177, n. 1), "Venitian" (p. 260, n. 1), and on p. 52 the implication that we have nothing left from Varro except his treatise on husbandry.

The deep interest which this busy man of the world feels in these two pieces of ancient literature, the sympathetic acquaintance which he shows with other Latin and with Greek writers, and the part which they evidently play in his life present an argument for the classics as effective as any of the formal pleas for them made in the volume issued two or three years ago by the University of Michigan.

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The Municipalities of the Roman Empire. By JAMES S. REID.
Cambridge, 1913. Pp. 548. \$3.75 net.

It would be well if someone would attempt to produce for the whole Roman Empire a set of maps similar to those which Beloch printed in *Der italische Bund*. The variety of color might suggest a "Futurist" landscape, but such maps would at least impress upon the memory the intricacy of pattern of city-states that constituted the empire. The same wholesome lesson is taught by Professor Reid in his itinerary over the Roman world, detaining the reader for a few moments at each of several hundred municipalities.

The reputation of the author is such that it would be entirely supererogatory to give assurance of how thoroughly he has searched the Greek and Latin inscriptions for his material, and how judiciously and conservatively he has deduced his conclusions. Wandering beyond his particular province now and then, he has lavished a rich fund of comment on such topics as the *attributio* of tribes to organized cities (p. 166), the imperial cults (p. 186), the *canabae* and *conventus* (196 ff.), the benefits rendered by legionary camps in Africa (p. 277), the effects of the *pax Romana* in Asia (p. 375), provincial assemblies (p. 377), etc. The three concluding chapters are particularly interesting, partly, we may add, because of the unity of treatment, a virtue denied the main portion of the book by the exigencies of its subject-matter. A good index is supplied, greatly increasing the value of a work which must of course be used rather for reference than for consecutive reading. Since, however, the book will serve chiefly in this way, we regret very much that it could not have contained references to sources. The student who is acquiring facts of the kind here offered should also be learning how to acquire them, and should accordingly be directed to the original documents. On the other hand, the scholar who will probably differ from Professor Reid in several instances will desire to test for himself the logic of the author's conclusions.

He may, for instance, wish to know why Professor Reid believes that twenty-six communities of Sicily belonged to the public domain (p. 327), that Athens and Rome signed a *foedus aequum* in the First Macedonian War (p. 423), and that Flamininus should be considered a great expansionist (p. 73).

The book is not easy reading. The sentences are detached, and the style in general has surrendered much to space-saving bluntness. However, the classicist of the new world, who never escapes the precept that he must entertain his audience in order to save a supposedly dying cause, is inclined to envy the good fortunes of those who, like Professor Reid, still dare to preserve the *gloria aritudinis*.

TENNEY FRANK

BRYN MAWR

Le futur grec. Par VICTOR MAGNIEN. Paris: Champion, 1912.
Two vols. Pp. xii+444; ix+337. Fr. 20.

M. Magnien, a pupil of Meillet's, has collected a large part of the enormous mass of material presented by the Greek future, and has classified it from two points of view. The first or formal classification is based upon the following seven categories: (1) the "first" future—λύσω, λύσομαι; (2) the "second" future—ἔρω, θανοῦμαι; (3) such forms as εἴμι, ἔδομαι; (4) the "third" future—πεπαύσομαι; (5) the "second" future passive—γραφήσομαι; (6) the "first" future passive—λυθήσομαι; (7) the "Doric" future—κινησῶ, ἴστεῖται. The lists and the brief accompanying discussions occupy the whole of the larger first volume. This part of the work will prove most valuable; it is to be hoped that we may some day have similar tables of the various types of present, aorist, and perfect. The work seems to have been well and thoroughly done.

The greater part of the second volume is devoted to a classification of the same material according to meaning and syntax. The last few pages of text are devoted to a discussion of the origin of the Greek future. The author evidently intended to study his material without prejudice and to base his theoretical contribution upon the foundation thus laid. As a matter of fact, however, he had his final conclusion in mind from the beginning, and it has colored his presentation of the evidence at countless points. As a result there are numerous statements, especially in the second volume, which seem hopelessly arbitrary unless the reader knows what is to come in the final section. One can save himself a great deal of bewilderment by starting at the end of the book!

The conclusion is, in brief, that all Greek futures except those like εἴμι and θόμαι, and also the Italic *s*-futures, as well as the Sanskrit and Lithuanian futures, come from Indo-European desiderative presents of the types represented by Latin *viso*, Sanskrit *vivṛtsati*, Lithuanian *kláusiu* (from **klegesie/o*), and perhaps one or two others. It is a plausible theory—suggested apparently by Meillet—and it probably represents a part of the truth.

Magnien, however, does considerably less than justice to the rival theory that the Greek future is in the main an aorist subjunctive. Most of the objections which he raises may be easily met. The predominance of the middle inflection in the Greek future may stand in some relation to the fact that in Sanskrit the *s*-aorist has middle inflection more frequently than the other aorists have. The fact that many Greek verbs have an *s*-future but no *s*-aorist may simply mean that the *s*-future (originally aorist subjunctive) spread more rapidly than the corresponding *s*-aorist indicative because there was no rival future formation to be crowded off the field. The first aorist subjunctive was preferred to the second aorist subjunctive for the reason that the short thematic vowel of the former was more easily associated with the other indicative forms.

Our author seems not to appreciate at all the positive evidence for the subjunctive origin of the *s*-future. He discusses the extensive confusion in Homer between future indicative and aorist subjunctive, but he does not realize that such a state of affairs in our earliest document indicates a close relationship between the two formations. He does not explain how Latin *fazo*, which he regards as a thematic indicative of a desiderative formation, can have a non-thematic optative like *faxim*.

Whether the contribution of the Indo-European desideratives to the Greek future was small or large, Magnien is certainly wrong in trying to find a desiderative force in the future of historic times whenever the context will permit such an interpretation. He regards the future infinitive after verbs of hoping, promising, etc., as desiderative; *Iliad* ix. 371 (*εἰ τινά πον Δαναῶν ἐπι θέται ἔξαπατήσειν*) means "s'il a dans la pensée le désir de tromper encore quelqu'un des Grecs," and he gets the word *désir* from the tense of the infinitive rather than from *θέτειν*. Similarly *Iliad* i. 296 (*οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγ' εἴη σοι πέσσεσθαι δίω*) means "car j'ai dans la pensée que je ne veux plus t'obeir." Such forced interpretations as these vitiate a large part of the semantic classification.

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The Clown in Greek Literature after Aristophanes. A Dissertation Presented to the Faculty of Princeton University in June 1911 by CHARLES HENRY HAILE. Princeton, 1913. Pp. viii+40.

The House-Door on the Ancient Stage. A Dissertation Presented to the Faculty of Princeton University by W. W. MOONEY. Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins Co., 1914. Pp. 104.

Der Emporkömmling. Ein Beitrag zur antiken Ethologie. Von ERNST MEYER. Giessen, 1913. Pp. 94.

"The buffoonery of modern comedy and farce is derived from the Italian commedia dell' arte, the child of the Roman mime and the grandchild of the Greek." This is one of several loose generalizations in which Mr. Haile reveals his passive adherence to the theories of Dieterich and Reich; in the latter's *Der Mimus* he has so great confidence that he has "simply used the work , not referring to Athenaeus and other authorities." Without committing himself to elusive Pulcinellas, the author might have established the thesis that certain sharply defined characteristics in Euelpides and Dicaeopolis recur in Ergasilus and several other slaves and parasites of the New Comedy. By careful definition at the start and cautious procedure in the course of his study he might have strengthened appreciably the bond that unites Old and New Comedy. Instead of doing this, however, Mr. Haile, having quoted Süss's description of the *bomolochos*—a description that itself is almost too broad and inclusive to serve as a satisfactory basis for any scientific procedure—admits as evidence of bomolochy in the New Comedy almost any variety of comic jest. For example, we are told that "in Aristophanes a prominent function of the clown was that of playing off an *ἀλαζόν* or similar character. In the New Comedy a large share of his humor consists in playing off or bantering others, though these are not all *ἀλαζόνες* by any means." It will be observed that by this very nimble transition practically any form of banter becomes bomolochy, and the sisters in the *Bacchides* immediately appear in Mr. Haile's argument as lineal descendants of the clown, for they "mock the irascible old men, whom they call 'sheep,' making sarcastic remarks about their value as live-stock, and finally roping them in." By such a method little room is left for the spontaneous generation of comic wit and humor. The reader, therefore, must make his own precise definition of bomolochy and sift out from a heterogeneous mass the relevant material; for the collection of this material we are grateful to Mr. Haile.

Mr. Mooney's conclusions are not novel; the essential results of his study have long been available in the brief comment of Dziatzko on *Phormio* 840. The statement of Dziatzko, however, is not supported by any array of evidence, and it is gratifying to find that a collection and interpretation of the pertinent passages confirm a current view. The thesis discusses the meaning of *ianua*, *fores*, *ostium*, the question whether the house-door opened outward, the procedure of knocking at entrance, the problem whether in opening the door from within a warning knock was given. Throughout the study the vocabulary is interpreted, and elaborate lists of words, with statistics, conclude the paper. In connection with these lists we miss a reference to Feyerabend, *De verbis Plautinis personarum motum in scaena experimentibus* (Marburg, 1910). In his interpretation of *Most.* 505 ff. Mr. Mooney seems not to have noticed the text and interpretation of Leo. Perhaps we may mildly protest against the array of statistics and the ideas at the beginning of the fifth chapter: "the amount of coming and going in a play may form

a rough gauge of the action in it," but if we are to have such gauges applied to the drama, we prefer the weighing-scene in the *Frogs* of Aristophanes.

Ribbeck's fruitful ethological studies are continued by Meyer in his sketch of the parvenu. Ribbeck, in the fashion of Theophrastus, made dominant inner qualities the subjects of several essays; the *δλαζών* may be cook or soldier; *δλαζούντις* is Ribbeck's theme. Meyer's treatment and choice of his theme are different; the parvenu reveals a variety of inner qualities and external features, some of which are not his exclusive property. Furthermore, Meyer has divided his material with reference to the literary *γένος* involved, instead of making the dominant characteristics his main headings. The bearings of the literary *γένος* on the delineation of the character is certainly very important, but one misses the clearer synthesis of Ribbeck's essays. The *novus homo* in politics as well as the pretentious *νεόπλοντος* in social life are followed through the literature from Anacreon to Claudian. The character in its literary form is fixed in the Greek sources; Meyer admits as a possible Roman contribution the *cena noviciorum*, but even this may easily have appeared in Menippus and his followers. Actual development in the portrayal is hard to trace; indeed, the completeness of the first portrait, in Anacreon's account of Artemon, is remarkable; even the parvenu freedmen of the early empire are foreshadowed in the people of a Utopian city in Cratinus' *Seriphians*. It is interesting to note that a feature of Aristophanes' realistic portrait of Hyperbolus becomes conventional in the later treatment of the type; in general, perhaps, the ultimate hardening of the character is the issue of abusive caricature of historical personages. Change of name to disguise humble origin, and fondness for high-sounding nomenclature are among the most pervasive characteristics. Here and there a few details may be questioned: has Asconius' comment (*Div. ad. Verrem* 15) some bearing on the identification of the *πολυπρόσωπον δράμα* in Lucian *Nig.* 58? Meyer denies that Thales in the second mime of Herondas is a *nauta libidinosus*, and regards him as a typical *cerdo fortunatus*; but such sharp differentiation is quite impossible: the typical qualities of the *mercator* and *nauta libidinosus* are prominent, though the *Emporkömling* may be included in the portrayal; why may not the realistic portraiture of the Hellenistic period combine features of both characters in one individual? In general, the essay contains material of value to the student of character-types and of ancient life.

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Inscriptiones Graecae,¹ Editio Minor, Vols. II and III, Pars I, Fasc.

I. Ed. Kirchner, Berlin, 1913.

Students of Greek history and epigraphy will welcome most heartily the new publication of the Attic decrees which is being edited by Professor

¹ For criticisms of details in these volumes cf. above, pp. 417 ff.

Kirchner. The first part has already appeared, containing all the decrees of the Athenian legislative bodies from 403 to 230 B.C. which have been recorded on stone and set up in Attic territory. For these years we have 830 documents (831 according to numbering, but 730/1 is a double number), and it is interesting to observe that 630 of these belong to the fourth century and 191 to the seventy years of the third. This disparity is not due to chance, but is, rather, a significant commentary on the contrast between Athens free and Athens subject. What a mine of inscriptions the land of Attica has been during the last fifteen years is shown by the fact that 216 of the 830 are not in the old edition, and 174 of these now appear for the first time, while 42 have been published in various journals since the appearance of *IG, II, 5*. In the Agora, the north slope and the walls of the Acropolis itself, there are probably as many more to be found if they could be uncovered.

Much of the new material published by Kirchner is so fragmentary, however, that it contributes little to history. Scarcely more than a score of the new finds add to our knowledge in any material way. There is always the possibility that some of these fragments may be combined with others and thus become available as historical documents. Such a combination is that in No. 236, which was published by Wilhelm in the *Wiener Sitzungsberichte* (1911), 1-30. In the new volume there is a large number of new combinations (a hasty count shows 61 not known to the editors of *IG, II, 5*), most of which were made or suggested by Wilhelm. His contributions to the new edition would be hard to estimate, for nearly every page bears evidence of his genius.

The omission of the text of the inscription in facsimile has resulted in a great saving of space. While in some cases it would be convenient to have this facsimile, the editor has always given the variant readings or the traces of letters in the notes. The method of arranging the lines of the inscription as they appear on the stone is a decided improvement over the former edition. The addition of the number of letters to a line in the case of stoichedon inscriptions will be appreciated by all those who have tried their hand at restoration. The notes accompanying each inscription are very brief, but all the important literature bearing on the document is cited in the heading, in which there is also a complete description of the stone. One cannot fail to admire the extreme care with which the editor has ascribed to every man his due share of credit for even the slightest restoration.

The typographical errors are very few, considering the amount of labor involved in preparing the volume. The type which is adopted increases the difficulty of proofreading, and accents and aspirates are easily overlooked. In spite of this only a few have been omitted. I note the following: 34, 16; 104, 10; 106, 18; 132, 9; 373, 6; 478, 31.

Although the second part with indices is already in press, it would have been a great convenience with small expenditure of time and money if a page had been inserted in this part giving the old and new numbering. Until the second part appears the student has to search laboriously through the new volume to find his inscription, especially if it is an undated one. Much time was spent by the reviewer in a search for Kirchner's interpretation of *IG*, II, 310, only to infer from a note that the inscription is apparently relegated to the second part.

The new edition reflects the great advance which has been made in dating the Attic inscriptions during the last twenty years. Buermann, Dittmar, Schmittenhener, and Schubert have done much in their researches in the formulae, although there is room for a great deal of investigation along these lines in the light of recent studies. The most valuable service in chronology has been rendered by Ferguson, and the decrees of the third century have at last been dated with approximate accuracy as a result of his researches. Kirchner has followed the secretary-cycle somewhat too religiously for the first half of the third century and has made no allowance for breaks (cf. *Class. Phil.*, IX [1914], 277). From 262 to 229 he apparently doubts the value of the cycle, for the documents in this period are only approximately dated.

While the new edition is far superior to the old in arrangement and accuracy of dating, one point might be criticized. When two inscriptions, obviously different in date, are recorded on the same stone, they are edited together and generally placed in the period to which the latter of the two belongs. This is likely to cause confusion and mistakes. For example, if the historian is collecting evidence for the years 319-306, he would naturally turn to that group of inscriptions in this volume. There would be nothing to indicate that one of the documents of this period is published under the year 334 B.C. (No. 336). The fact that decrees ten years apart are recorded on the same stone does not seem sufficient reason for publishing one of them in a period to which it does not belong. At any rate some reference should be made to it in its proper group.

A number of Attic decrees are recorded on stone in countries outside Attica by the individual or state on whom the honor was conferred. In addition there are quite a few documents scattered through Greek literature which are accepted as genuine. None of these have as yet been included in any *corpus* of Greek inscriptions, although their addition would make the work much more complete and thorough. It is hoped that Professor Kirchner may add a supplement containing all such decrees, or at least the references to them.

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Sophocles quid debeat Herodoto in rebus ad fabulas exornandas adhibitis.
 (Commentationes Philologae Ienenses, X, fasciculus alter.) By
 IOANNES RASCH. Leipzig: Teubner, 1913. Pp. 126.

Naturally little new material is here presented. Jebb, for example, gives references to Herodotus in nineteen of about twenty-five passages from the seven plays of Sophocles that are here discussed, and all but one or two of the rest have been suggested by others. The writer, however, believes that the influence of Herodotus upon Sophocles can be proved more conclusively by a critical examination of the parallels, and by tracing the history of the ideas and words supposed to have been borrowed, or the myths that had been altered by Sophocles.

Most of the space (pp. 12-63) is devoted to proving that Astyages' dream (i. 108) suggested the form of Clytaemestra's (*El.* 417 ff.), and that the story of the exposure and early life of Cyrus was utilized in the plot of the *Alexandros* and *Tyro*. In the former case the resemblance is evident, and the possibility of borrowing undeniable, but I cannot say that Rasch's elaborate argument makes it more than a possibility to me. As for the connection between the stories of Paris and Cyrus—the idea is Carl Robert's—when we consider that the only fragment of Sophocles' *Alexandros* that throws light upon its plot is *Βοτῆρα νυκάν ἀνδρας δοτίας*, even though this hint and the form of the Paris myth in later writers enable us to make a plausible reconstruction of the plot, we cannot accept such a reconstruction as valuable evidence of Sophocles' indebtedness to Herodotus.

It is an original idea of Rasch that the scene in which Athena urges Ulysses to stay and behold the madness of Ajax was suggested by the Candaules-Gyges story: "Aequae," he says, "sunt utriusque fabulae condiciones: et Gyges et Ulixes inviti et precibus frustra effusis a dominis faventibus coguntur, ut miseras illas personas intueantur nudatas; nam Aiacis quoque, qui pessima insania oppressus non debuit incidere in visum spectatorum, tamquam nuditas producitur in oculos spectatoris latentis." This is certainly far-fetched. There is, perhaps, something more in the idea that the word *μάγος* applied to Teiresias, *O.R.* 387, was suggested by the story of the Magus Smerdis, because Oedipus suspects Creon and Teiresias of aiming at the throne; and κάπι λοντροῖσιν κάρρα κηλῆδας έξέμαξεν, *El.* 445, may have been due to a recollection of the Scythian custom (*Hdt.* 4. 64), since Frag. 432, Σκυθιστὶ χειρόμακτρον ἐκδεδαρμένος, proves it to have been known to Sophocles.

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Der Fiskus der Ptolemaeer. Von A. STEINER. Leipzig: Teubner, 1913. Pp. 66.

The Germans, under the able leadership of Ulrich Wilcken, undoubtedly hold first place in the historical interpretation of the Greek papyri. Their

work has been greatly strengthened by the interest taken in the papyri by men whose scholarly interests are not primarily historical or philological. Among these are Ludwig Mitteis and Otto Gradenwitz, professors of Roman law, and Friedrich Preisigke, a postal and telegraph official. The author of the present brochure is a Doctor Juris, a student under Gradenwitz at Heidelberg.

The finance bureau of the Ptolemies was divided into the three departments of assessment, registration, and collection and general administration combined. At the head of the entire bureau stood the Dioiketes at Alexandria. The department of collection and administration was the Basilikon, or Royal Treasury. Its chief, the Royal Oikonomos, appears first in the papyri of the second century B.C., although Oikonomoi of the nomes appear in the Revenue Papyrus of the third century. It is the Basilikon alone which Steiner attempts to elucidate. He does not take up the question of the Dioiketes, whether there was one official of this title or many,¹ or the position of the Hypodioiketes of the second century B.C. Within the limits thus established Steiner has made a thorough and careful analysis of the extant papyri, both Greek and demotic. He shows a thorough acquaintance with the recent literature. The Idios Logos, or Crown Treasury, Steiner regards as nothing more than a separate fund or account into which a portion of the state revenues was diverted. Its administrative apparatus was supplied by the Basilikon. Below the Royal Oikonomos, chief of staff of the Basilikon, and subservient to him, were other officials of varying grades also called Oikonomoi—Oikonomoi of the nomes, of the three divisions of the Arsinoite nome, of each toparchy, of the villages, and of the imperial possessions outside of Egypt. At the end of his study Steiner has compiled a useful set of tables of the known Oikonomoi in their various grades.

The duties of the Oikonomoi of the nomes were many and important: to receive tax-declarations, to assist in the raising of taxes through the tax-farmers, and to collect all fines imposed in connection with taxation cases. They also had jurisdiction in cases of complaint connected with the tax-farming and collection. They had special powers of oversight and jurisdiction in relation to the state oil monopoly. Steiner's belief (p. 17) that the Oikonomos held a similar position in regard to other state monopolies is attractive; but it rests upon slender evidence.

After dealing with the ranking of the Oikonomoi, which was a shifting one, in the Ptolemaic official hierarchy, Steiner closes with a brief section upon the continuance of these officials under the Roman administration and a concise summary of his results.

Steiner's study will help to clear up the complex relations of the Ptolemaic

¹ The question of the number of the Dioiketai has been definitely decided, since Steiner's monograph appeared, by the publication of Heidelberg Papyrus 1281. In addition to the great Dioiketes at Alexandria there were subordinate officials under him who had the same title. See *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, VI, 30.

finance bureau. The nature of the historical evidence offered by the papyri is such as to lead the student easily into applying to his evidence the "third degree" of the police system, to press upon a frail witness until he must answer. Steiner has not altogether escaped this temptation, although he is careful to indicate those conclusions which are based upon a personal judgment rather than upon complete and strong evidence.

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Beiträge zur Geschichte von Lesbos im vierten Jahrhundert v. Chr.

Von DR. HANS PISTORIUS. "Jenaer Historische Arbeiten," Heft V. Bonn: Marcus und Weber, 1913. Pp. 178. M. 4.50.

The latest monograph dealing with the history of Lesbos as a whole is Plehn's *Lesbiacorum liber* (1826). With the exception of Cichorius' *Rom und Mytilene* (1888), no attempt has since been made to exploit the new archaeological, epigraphic, and numismatic material. Accordingly Dr. Pistorius has undertaken this piece of investigation, limiting it to the period 411-301 B.C.

This is, however, not merely a local history of Lesbos. In eighty-four compact pages (pp. 12-96), Pistorius presents a critical narrative sketch of Lesbos in connection with, and as a part of, the general Greek development of the fourth century B.C. For a half-century Lesbos was involved in the attempts of Sparta and Athens to build up a territorial state out of the disunited Greek city-states. Released by the battle of Cnidos from the bonds of Spartan imperialism, in which it had been held (411-394 B.C.), Lesbos was next intimately and loyally associated with Athens, practically without interruption, until 351 B.C.—a policy which gave stability to the internal affairs of the island. With the rise and rivalry of Macedon and Persia, Lesbos was dragged into the larger circle of events. In all the cities of the island except Mytilene (which had re-entered the Athenian Empire in 346 B.C.), tyrants now arose (347-332 B.C.), in most cases owing to Persian influence. In 338 B.C., following the lead of Athens, Mytilene (pp. 62-64, not all Lesbos, as Niese has it) joined the Corinthian League. Finally, in 332 B.C., all Lesbos was incorporated into the monarchy and empire of Alexander, and after many vicissitudes it fell to Lysimachus as a result of the battle of Ipsus. If Lesbos declined in political power and prestige, her largest city, Mytilene, was to become in the third and second centuries B.C. a center of that larger Hellenism which grew out of the world-monarchy of Alexander.

Two appendices make up the second half of the monograph (pp. 96-162). Regarding the many detailed questions discussed in the first part, the following conclusions reached are worth mentioning. As to the chronology of the last campaigns of Lysander, there is no need to suppose a second expedition to Thrace; the date of Lysander's fall is 403/2 B.C. (pp. 99-100). Agesilaos was not himself nauarch for 395/4 B.C., but Peisandros (p. 102). Numismatic evidence throws light on Conon's efforts to establish the new Athenian Empire

and this leads to a revised estimate of the activity of Thrasybulos (p. 111: "Er schuf keinen ganz neuen Bund, sondern er liess nur den, welchen sein Vorgänger begründet, wiedererstehen, er knüpfte durchaus an die Schöpfung Konons an und baute sie weiter aus"). Demosthenes' *For the Rhodians* is to be dated after the treaty with Orontes (*IG*, II, 108), Pistorius giving November / December, 351 B.C., as the approximate date for the latter, and for Demosthenes' speech January / February, 350 B.C. (p. 120). Finally there is an illuminating excursus (pp. 123-34) on Alexander's relations with the Asiatic Greek cities. On the basis of numismatic evidence Pistorius conjectures that Alexander in 332 B.C. established a koinon of the Aeolians (similar to the koina of the Lycians, Caria, etc.), reviving in this way the old Dodekapolis. It was as a part of this koinon of the Aeolians that Lesbos joined the Corinthian League as renewed by Alexander. Pistorius also presents strong evidence for the view that these associations had political as well as religious functions, especially in the light of what we now know to have been the real character and object of the worship of Alexander; and that these koina of the Asiatic Greeks became members of the Corinthian League as koina and as such had a vote, the individual Asiatic cities being in this way represented in the league.

In Appendix II, Pistorius, after a study of the formal characteristics of all the Lesbian epigraphic material, applies the results thus obtained to the more accurate dating of several of the inscriptions. A chronological table and a full index complete this monograph. It is a thorough piece of work, showing at once sound scholarship and an appreciation of the wider aspects of the period under discussion.

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Anaximenea. Dissertatio inauguralis quam ad summos in philosophia honores ab amplissimo philosophorum ordine Lipsiensi rite impetrandos scripsit FRIEDRICH EISEMANN. Typis Roberti Noske Bornensis, MCMXII. Pp. 74.

The author has given his work the title *Anaximenea* without indicating that possibly Anaximenes did not write the treatise under consideration. The dissertation is an investigation of the word-order of the 'Ρητορικὴ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον. It is further an attempt to bolster up the readings of the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century MSS on which the editions of Spengel (1854) and Hammer (1894) are based, and to discredit the authority of the Hibeh papyrus which Grenfell and Hunt assign to the beginning of the third century B.C.

As an investigation of the word-order of the MSS it is a thoroughgoing piece of work and will prove valuable to the next editor of the text, or to anyone who is interested in the problems of sentence structure and literary style. There is no question that Blass, if he were writing his chapter on

Anaximenes again (*Att. Ber.*, II, 395 ff.) with this dissertation before him, would change a few of his sentences; we can hardly agree with Eisemann, however, that Blass has merely touched the matter with his finger tips.

In section 1 Eisemann gives a list of similar investigations, discusses their method, and says that he will follow the method introduced by G. Kaibel in his *Stil und Text der Πολιτεία Ἀθηναίων des Aristoteles*, 1893. (Eisemann perhaps would have done well had he followed Kaibel in the naming of his dissertation.)

In section 2 Eisemann recognizes two methods of word arrangement in his author, *bipartitio* and *variatio*. In sections 3 and 4 parisosis and paromoiosis are illustrated as forms of *bipartitio*. In sections 5 and 6 Eisemann enlarges the number of forms of *variatio* that have previously been noted by Spengel and Ipfelkofer. Sections 7, 8, and 9 contain a long list of examples of chiasmus. Sections 10, 11, and 12 illustrate twelve of the thirteen forms of hyperbaton given in Lindhamer's classification. Eisemann amplifies this classification by the addition of new forms from the *'Ρητορική'*. Section 12 further contains an interesting discussion of hiatus. Here the reader is inclined to side with Eisemann in his arguments against Blass, who distrusted the MSS chiefly because of the frequency of hiatus. The remainder of the first half of the dissertation is devoted to a discussion of various noteworthy examples of word-order which the author has reserved for special treatment. On p. 44 his defense of the text (99, 23-100, 1) against the arguments of Ipfelkofer seems convincing.

In the last half of the dissertation Eisemann attempts to prove that the old readings of the MSS are superior to the new readings of the Hibeh papyrus. Very few of his arguments are at all convincing. He fails to see that the usage of the MSS may not be set as a Procrustean bed for the new readings of the papyrus. The fact that the papyrus preserves less than one-ninth of the treatise makes the problem a difficult one. Eisemann introduces the very interesting hypothesis that the papyrus was prepared for individual use by a person who cared for the content rather than the form of the treatise. In this way he would explain the fact that the papyrus presents on an average one variant for every three lines of text. One must still look to Grenfell and Hunt's introduction for a more dispassionate statement of the case.

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Vormundschaftsrechtliche Studien: Beiträge zur Geschichte des römischen und griechischen Vormundschaftsrechts. Von DR. RAFAEL TAUBENSCHLAG. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1913. Pp. 88. M. 3.

In the first of these studies (pp. 1-26) Dr. Taubenschlag contends that the *edictum perpetuum* contained a provision requiring on the part of the guardians, known as the *tutores Atiliani*, a *cautio rem pupilli salvam fore*. Ultimately,

by judicial interpretation, the *legitimi* and the *patroni* were included. An analysis of Ulpian's commentary as contained in *Dig.* 26. 2 follows.

The second study (pp. 26-46) contains a close analysis of the *crimen suspecti* (*tutoris vel curatoris*), in order to discover upon what grounds the administration of a guardian might be impugned.

The third study (pp. 46-68) deals with the development of the *cura impuberis*, that guardianship of a minor which took the place of the usual *tutela*. It is the author's contention that it grew out of the *adiunctio curatoris propter adversam valetudinem* (*tutoris*).

Pp. 68-86 contain a discussion of the legal guardianship of women. At Greek law, women were under the perpetual tutelage of their *κύριοι*. At Rome, on the other hand, the last vestiges of such a compulsory guardianship were abolished in the first century by a *lex Claudia*. Nevertheless, although practically all free residents of the empire became Roman citizens by the Constitutio Antonina, the Greek system survived in many parts of the East and was reintroduced into the imperial law by Constantine.

Dr. Taubenschlag's book is technical and will be profitably read only by those already familiar with the substance and methods of modern legal research. The plausibility of his conclusions may be granted. But that he has convincingly demonstrated them is more than doubtful. That, however, is due not to anything which characterizes the author's own reasoning, but to the vicious method which he shares with more than one German Romanist, of great and little degree. He discovers interpolations in the Digest with an assurance that suggests divinatory skill. There are provable interpolations in the Digest—enough to justify the *unbehagliches Gefühl* with which, in Theodor Kipp's words, historians of Roman law must approach the consideration of their principal source. But the criteria which Taubenschlag accepts are certainly not adequate.

Most of the argument is philological. Certain passages, we are told, smack of "Byzantine" Latin. According to Taubenschlag and others of his school, such words as *forte* (p. 33), seemingly needless repetitions (p. 20), *ut esset*, where Madvig or Zumpt would prefer *ut sit* (p. 12), indicate that the whole passage is *kompilatorisch*. Even to the *beliebte justinianische Partikel "sed"* (p. 45), probative force is granted. That is only one item in a cumulative argument, but, surely, no context could mitigate its absurdity.

The *Jagd nach Interpolationen* bids fair to become as great a philological scandal as the Homeric question or Old Testament criticism. It is to be hoped that the welcome sanity which is now being manifested in the last two fields will extend to the first, and that scholars will await much more thorough investigation of juristic Latin than has yet been attempted, before accepting *videlicet* (p. 13), or a change of tense (p. 8, n. 39), or a doublet (p. 53), as indicia of time of composition.

MAX RADIN

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Index Verborum Catullianus. By MONROE NICHOLS WETMORE. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1912. \$2.00.

If the exhortation to the preparation of special lexicons to classical authors be, on account of commercial considerations, a counsel of perfection, it still remains true that even word-indexes are of great and permanent value. Nor is their practical value at all impaired by the progress of the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, despite the judgment of the editors of that slowly advancing work, which judgment is said to be in the contrary direction. Professor Wetmore's *Index Verborum Vergilianus* has already found a welcome, and the same greeting should be accorded to this volume, which shows similar painstaking care, and is compiled on the same system. The variant readings of seven editions of Catullus are recorded in it. To the choice of the preferred seven no exception could well be taken, unless perhaps in one particular. In the unprejudiced judgment of the present reviewer a school edition published in this country some twenty years ago seems unduly promoted to honor in being included in the circle of dignities. In the arrangement of the citations a saving of space might have been not infrequently effected without the slightest loss of practical clearness, or of anything else unless of precise consistency, which is not always a virtue of consequence. The lemma *palimpsestus* will serve as an example. The word occurs but once, and is cited in the form *palimpseston*, with reference to the variants of editions EMR immediately following in parentheses. It was surely needless to continue this with cross-references to *palimpseston* from these same variants, which must of course have fallen already under the reader's eye. By omission of the repetition of the variants, the lemma could have been reduced to about two-fifths of its present dimensions, and the presentation would actually have gained instead of lost in clearness. The sum of the many such possible economies of space would be considerable. As it is, the *Index* proper fills 115 large octavo pages, and the book costs two dollars, a prohibitive price to many students. The word-index in Schwabe's edition covers less than half as many pages (of smaller type, to be sure), and these pages are hardly more than half the size of those in Mr. Wetmore's book, while the cost of Schwabe's entire unbound volume—preface, text, *apparatus criticus*, indexes, and all—was only one and one-half marks. Only in a form that is not so expensive as is this volume from the Yale Press can we look for effective publication of word-indexes. This is doubtless a word of advice to publishers even more than to future editors.

E. T. M.

Libanii Opera. Recensuit RICHARDUS FOERSTER. Vol. VII: *Declamationes XXXI-LI.* Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1913.

With the seventh volume the *Declamationes* are complete. Foerster here forsakes the order of Reiske; omits three declamations by Choricius,

of whose works he is preparing an edition; and includes the "antilogia" of Gregory to the probably spurious Declamation XXXIV. In his preface he defends himself at some length and with great indignation from the criticisms of his edition by Maas in the *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1912. These are often unfair or trivial, but they would have been more appropriately refuted elsewhere than in a Teubner volume that runs to 739 pages. Maas regrets that no analyses of the speeches are given, as though this were usual in a Teubner critical edition. To gain space for these he would like to strike out "countless allusions to parallel passages." But students of the reminiscence Greek of the fourth Christian century will be thankful for Foerster's industry in tracing such echoes, or the parallels that show where the author is using a well-worn sophist commonplace. Maas has evidently never had to spend time in hunting down these tags and fleeting allusions, the recognition of which is often necessary to the mere comprehension of innumerable passages in the Greek of this period. Even Foerster, in spite of heroic efforts, does not exhaust the field. For instance, in the "Monody of the Avaricious Man" (LI) he might have added to his long list of writers who have used the famous Pindaric *locus* about the shower of gold that descended on the Rhodians, Julian's echo of it in 290 B; and to the references for the expression "to split the cumin seed," in the same speech, might be added Julian *Caesars* 312 A. Maas reproached Foerster with not emending παρὰ τοῦτο to δὰ τοῦτο in Vol. IV, 115, 16. *Apage!* retorts Foerster, and cites six cases from Libanius of the causal παρά, calling it a *singularis praepositionis παρά usus Libanianus*. The use was not confined to Libanius; cf. Julian 224 B and 360 D: παρ' ἐμὲ τὰ τοῦ κόσμου πράγματα ἀντέραπται.

The twenty declamations in the present volume are all exercises in χαρακτηρισμός and are sometimes preceded by a προθεωρία in which the Sophist expounds briefly the characters and motives of the person involved, and in one case (XXXIV) before passing on to the μελέτη he addresses his audience as though he were speaking the prologue of a play εἰ . . . πανταχοῦ τὸ ζῆτος ἐν τῷ ζητήματι σεσώκαμεν σκοπεῖν ὑμέτερον. In several of the speeches the speaker demands from the Senate a permit to commit suicide and a draught of hemlock for the purpose. Lipsius declared (Meier-Schoemann, *Att. Process*, p. 381) that such a practice was a pure figment of Libanius; Foerster, however, cites Valerius Maximus ii. 6. 7, who says that in his time this custom was observed by the citizens of Marseilles and the islanders of Ceos, and, from having met with it in Ceos, Valerius concludes that it was borrowed from Greece. The first four declamations, with Gregory's "antilogia," display the ζῆτος of the avaricious man, and are followed by four that deal with disputes between rich and poor. The fortieth declamation is a speech in a murder case which reads like a sensational paragraph from the daily press. The speaker defends himself for having murdered his daughter and her husband on the ground that the latter had so persecuted the daughter and so pitilessly blackmailed himself that he

had to murder them to avoid the ruinous expense. In short, this volume with few exceptions is a set of studies in the character of a group of Shylocks who justify their meanness with exhausting ingenuity.

Foerster says that with the sixth volume only half his task was completed, and there remain the *Letters*, the progymnasmata, the life of Demos-themes with the hypotheses of his *Orations*, the "epistolary characters," and innumerable fragments. We may therefore suppose that the edition when complete will amount to at least twelve volumes.

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The Divisions in the Plays of Plautus and Terence. By FREDERICK M.

FOSTER. University of Michigan Studies in Language and Literature, Vol. 1, No. 3, 1914.

"The plays of Plautus, as they appear in the manuscripts, are rigidly divided into five acts each"; in his first sentence Dr. Foster has fallen into an unfortunate error. The act-divisions in the plays of Plautus were, of course, first defined by Renaissance editors and are quite without respectable manuscript authority; Foster could well have spared his pains in justifying his rejection of such "traditional" division.

Foster regards the vacant stage as an essential criterion of act-division, though granting, of course, that all vacant stages do not mark the ends of acts and real pauses in the action. For the selection of these real pauses he utilizes "criteria which seem to have escaped the notice of commentators," viz., "express statements by actors that they are about to leave the stage," and "no clue given as to the identity of the oncoming actor." Leo and Legrand (see Leo, *Der Monolog im Drama* [1908], 51; 54, n. 5; 57, n. 6; 61; etc.; Legrand, *Daos* [1910], 477; 483; etc.) seem to have taken sufficient account of these announcements of exit and entrance; Foster, strangely enough, does not mention Legrand's work. In determining the ends of acts by noting the *absence* of these announcements Foster attaches an added importance to them which is quite unsupported by evidence of critical value. In a number of instances ill-founded reasoning on the plot-development limits the use of these criteria (see p. 7, and on *Asin.* 544; 809; *Bac.* 384; 924; *Capt.* 497; 515; *Epid.* 665; etc.); in other cases their presence passes unnoticed, to all appearances, and does not involve the division of plays in his scheme (*Aul.* 397; 623; 627; *Cas.* 530; *Curc.* 532; *Merc.* 956; *Stich.* 648; *Ad.* 510). Not infrequently his choice of pauses in the action is quite unfortunate (*Aul.* 586; *Cist.* 652; *Miles* 1393, where he has, by implication, quite misinterpreted Prescott's argument, *Harv. Stud.*, XXI, 34 ff.; *Pseud.* 766; 1051, where he has misunderstood Leo's comment, *Monolog*, 60; *Stich.* 673).

On p. 12 he is again the victim of unwise generalization; the rule there

laid down is frequently violated throughout the dissertation (e.g., *Amph.* 860; 1052; *Aul.* 586; *Capt.* 767; *Cas.* 758; *Circ.* 215; *Men.* 445; *Miles* 595). On p. 11, *Bac.* 180 f. is palpably misinterpreted; on p. 16, the division at *Men.* 965 disregards the fact that the stage is not then vacant; similarly, on p. 21, the entrance of the *senex* is announced (*Haut.* 1000) and forbids division at 1002. On p. 22, Foster is, I think, in error in considering the stage occupied at *Eun.* 390 and *Phorm.* 314; on the other hand, his suggestion (pp. 12 f.) that Nicobulus remains on the stage as a silent actor during Chrysalus' monody (*Bac.* 925 ff.) certainly deserves consideration.

The typography is excellent throughout; I have noted only the following errors: on p. 13, l. 19, for "520" read "530"; on p. 14, l. 11, for "954" read "854."

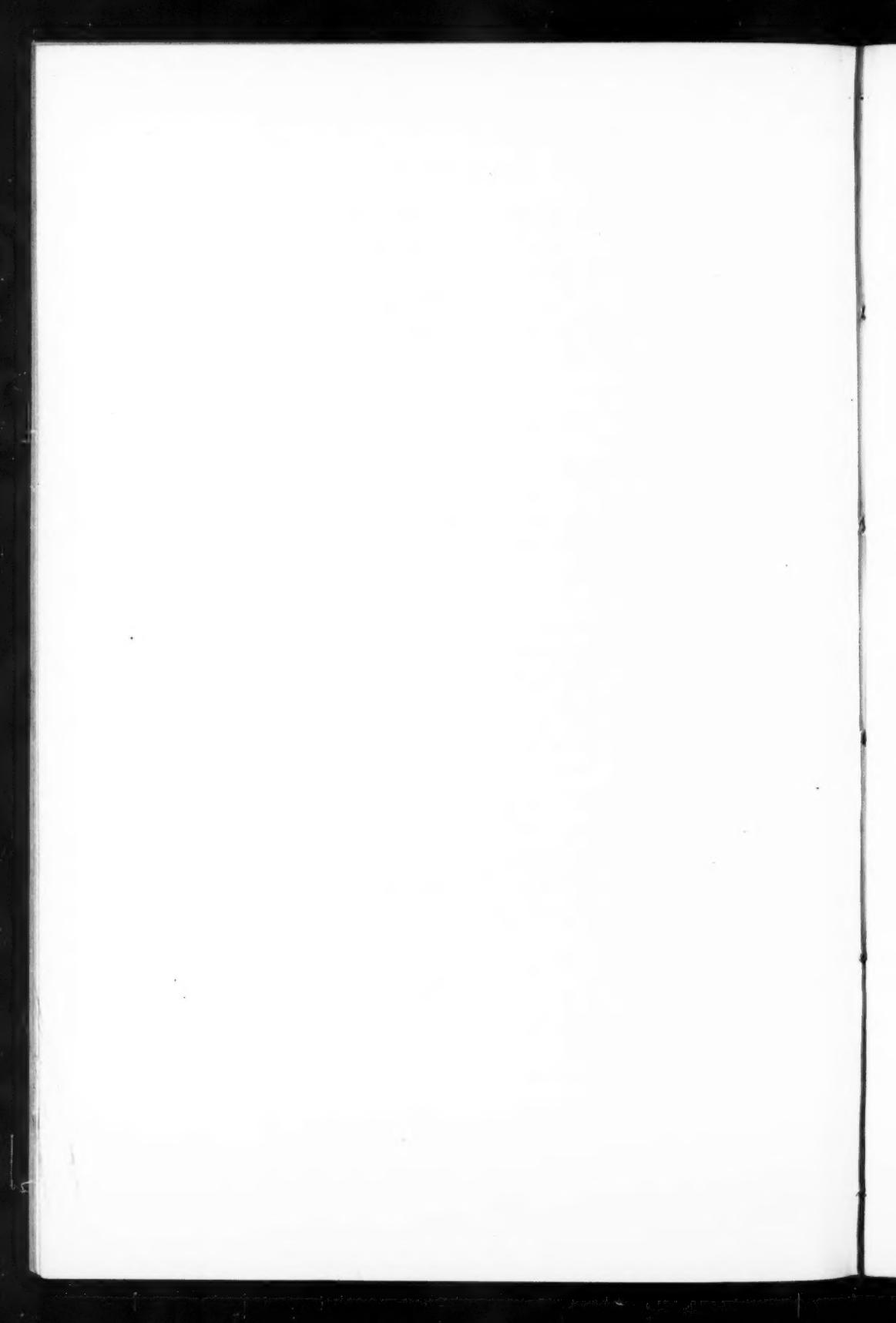
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Scythians and Greeks. By ELLIS H. MINNS, M.A. Cambridge University Press, 1913. Pp. xl+720.

This is an imposing summary of facts and opinions regarding the history and antiquities of the region north of the Black Sea. In this region dwelt or roamed the tribes known to the Greeks as Scythians, while on the coast several Greek colonies were planted, Olbia, Chersonese, Panticapaeum, and so on. Exploration in these lands has been fruitful, but reports have been difficult of access, especially since the Russian Archaeological Commission adopted the policy of publishing only in the Russian language. Mr. Minns appears to be proficient in that language, as well as otherwise equipped for his laborious task. His work represents years of research. It is far more extensive than the *Antiquités de la Russie méridionale* of Kondakov and Tolstoy, edited in French in 1891 by M. S. Reinach.

The book is profusely illustrated, but, as the author says, he has deliberately sacrificed quality to quantity. To the writer of the present notice the most welcome illustrations are those on pp. 204 A, B, C, D. These give from photographs the most beautiful Greek drawings in existence, the tinted drawings on ivory found in a Scythic tomb near Panticapaeum. All previously published illustrations of these drawings go back, not to photographs, but to one set of copies made by hand.



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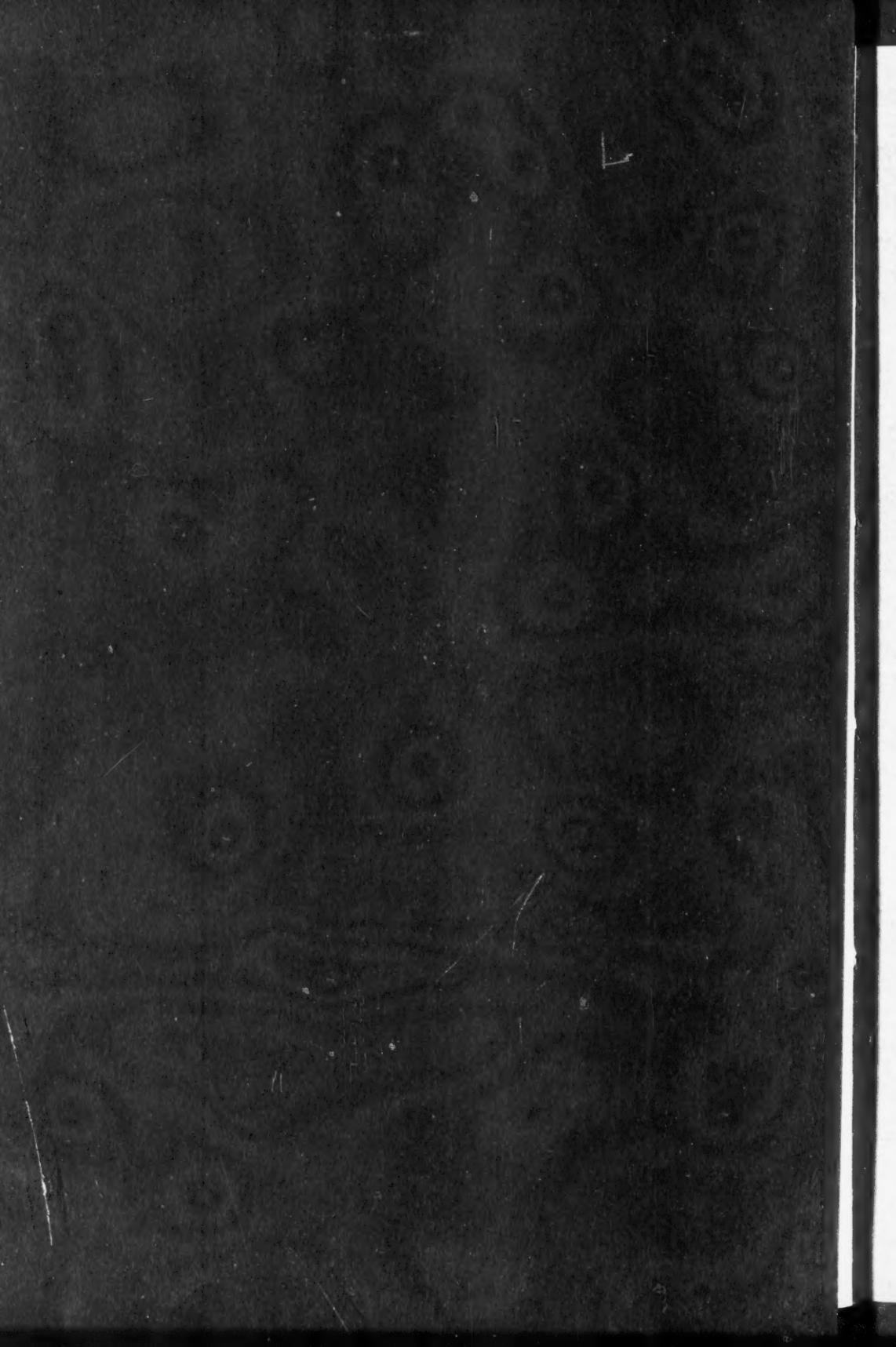
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